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THE
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
HUGH BOYD,

THE
Author of the Letters of Junius.



WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY
LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUNIOR, AND W. DAVIES,
IN THE STRAND ;
BY R. NOBLE, IN THE OLD-BAILEY.

1800.

THE

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF
HUGH BOYD

SECOND EDITION

EDITED BY JAMES H. BURNES



AND SOLD BY THE AUTHOR

BY

W. & A. GILCHRIST

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1850

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1850

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EMBASSY

TO

CANDY.

VOL. II.

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Vol. 12

PREFACE

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE purpose of Mr. BOYD'S Embassy from the Government of Madras to the King of Candy, has been already stated in general terms, in the first edition of Mr. BOYD'S Life. And the inaccuracy of some part of that statement, together with the manner in which the following Journal of the Embassy has been preserved, are pointed out, and described, in the enlarged, and more circumstantial account of his Life, prefixed to the first volume of this Work.

That Mr. BOYD did not live to fulfil his intention of publishing a complete narrative of his Embassy, with a description of the manners and customs of the *Cingalese*, and

a full and accurate account of their civil government, laws, and policy, is now the more deeply to be regretted, as our recent conquest of all the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, has rendered that renowned and valuable island, and the extraordinary character of its inhabitants, objects of infinite and instant importance to the commercial and political interests of British India. These objects will, doubtless, be attended to by the wisdom of our councils; and they are likely to be well portrayed and developed, by the lucid and penetrating mind of the gentleman, who at present governs our territories in this island.

But, in the mean time, a succinct account of it, both natural and civil, drawn from the most unquestionable authorities, as introductory to the Journal of Mr. BOYD'S embassy, which throws much additional light on the subject, will, I trust, neither be unacceptable as an amusement to some, nor wholly useless as an instruction to others. A desire of supplying to the utmost of my abilities and knowledge, at least some part of that information, which it was in the
intention

intention of Mr. BOYD to have given the publick, has prompted me to this undertaking; which I shall endeavour to execute with the clearness, if not with the elegance, with which he would have illustrated and adorned the subject.

The Island of CEYLON, or as it is called by the natives, SILAN, beyond all doubt, I think, the *Tabrobana* of the Greeks and Romans, has been celebrated in all ages for its riches and beauty. But it should seem that the neighbouring Hindû nations, on the coasts of the Indian peninsula, were contented to admire, and felt little inclination to have much intercourse with it. For there has not yet been discovered, in the archives of Hindû literature, notwithstanding the shining talents, profound learning, and unwearied assiduity, that have been employed to investigate them, any legendary poem whatever, far less any historical narrative, that gives a particular account of Ceylon: though we find it noticed in the astronomical work of *Parasara*, under the name of *Lancâ*, and though we know from oral tradition, that some little trade has been

carried on between it and the sea-port towns of Hindustân, from time immemorial. It is therefore to the writings of European, and one or two Arabian, travellers, and to the commercial spirit of the Portugueze and Dutch, that we are indebted for all the information we possess respecting this island. These travellers, however, for the most part, only visited its shores, or the narrow vicinage of a few miles round the European settlements; and those among them who penetrated into the interior of the country, were chiefly men of confined views, and little education. The wars in which the Portugueze were perpetually engaged with the Kings of Candy, from their first invasion of the island, until they were attacked by the Dutch, and the persecuting zeal, with which they wickedly, foolishly, and vainly endeavoured to propagate the Christian faith among the Cingalese, utterly precluded them from making those inquiries into the religion, laws, and civil government of the country, and from studying the character of its inhabitants, which alone could convince them of the wretched policy they pursued,

and

and secure to them that trade, which it was their original object, as well as their interest, to cultivate. The Dutch again, after they had finally reduced all the Portuguese settlements, and firmly established themselves in the island; for a while conducted their affairs, if not with the liberal views, at least with the foresight, and prudence, of able merchants. Their sound sense suggested to them the commercial advantages that would arise from conciliating the minds of the Cingalese; and they concluded a treaty of amity with the King of Candy, in which their right to the territory they had conquered, was recognized, and permission to cultivate the Cinnamon was granted. But the immense wealth which they were thereby enabled speedily to acquire, soon destroyed that enterprising spirit which had animated their commerce; and instead of making themselves acquainted with the history, and of extending their views to the general politics of the country, they confined them to the partial interests of their several factories. The Governors who were sent from Holland to administer their affairs, instead of
being

being able statesmen, or enlightened merchants, were men of low habits and coarse minds, accustomed to the trammels of a counting-house, and as incapable of forming any generous and extensive scheme of policy, as of encouraging the researches of learned men in the arts and sciences of the Cingalese. Hence the history of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, consists solely of a series of details so loathsome, that every well-framed mind would be disgusted at the bare recital of them. A gluttonous rapacity, generated by the rapid acquisition of riches, rendered the Dutch alike regardless of the faith of treaties, and the obligations of friendship; and spurred them on to make encroachments on the dominions of the King of Candy. This conduct gave birth to a succession of petty wars, in which, though the Dutch were always successful, the Candians were never subdued. In these wars the Dutch treated their prisoners, of whatever rank or age, with the harshest rigour; and heaped upon them every mark of degradation which the most ingenious cruelty could furnish, or the most brutal barbarity inflict.

inflict. The Cingalese, though living under a monarchy entirely absolute, and without any idea whatever of political freedom, being nevertheless protected in their persons and properties, by wholesome and moderate laws, which they consider as sacred, and with which few of their Kings have materially interfered, and proud of their immemorial independence, they were naturally shocked, and exasperated at the enormities of the Dutch. They, therefore, incessantly provoked hostilities, in order to revenge the injuries they had sustained; and though they were unable to drive their enemy from their island, they often succeeded in repulsing him from their mountains.—The implacable hatred they bore the Dutch, deterred the Cingalese, in times of peace, from having any communication with them; and although the Court of Candy did not refuse to receive their ambassadors, they were treated with cold distrust, and watched with jealous vigilance. And the remembrance of the Portuguese, and the shameful and impolitic conduct of the Dutch, at length induced the Kings of Candy to forbid their subjects to have

have any intercourse with any European nation whatever; and they instructed them to hold in eternal abhorrence a race of people, whom, as they appeared to them, no ties of honour could bind, and against whose treachery, no prudence could guard.

These facts sufficiently account for the Island of Ceylon being less known than any other equally celebrated part of India.

Of the general line of conduct that has been pursued by each of these European nations, who have risen to any consequence in India, it should be observed here, that the Portuguese, shortly after the time of the great *Albuquerque*, became so infatuated with their favourite idea, of converting the nations of Asia to the Catholic religion, that it absorbed every other consideration, whether of policy or fame.—A knowledge of the languages, customs, politicks, -arts and sciences, of Hindustân, so essential to the well-being of their own establishments in that country, they totally neglected to acquire.

The Dutch were no less indifferent to these important objects. Confining all their
views

views solely to the interests and extension of their commerce, they never aspired to the elevated rank of a Sovereign People in the East. Even their trade was conducted on narrow principles. And from the state of literature in their mother country, during the present century, we need not wonder at their having felt no desire to gather the laurels of India. *

The discernment and penetration of the French very early perceived the utility that must result from their studying the characters and history of the people of Hindustân, and the spirit of the different states of which it is composed. Their acuteness and address enabled them to gain much information on these subjects. But the continual dissensions, in which their intrigues involved

* It were however uncandid not to mention here, that a Printing press has been established at Columbo, by the Dutch Company, about fifty years ago; at which there have been printed a grammar of the Cingalese language, by *Johannes Ruell*; and one or two translations from the Scriptures, into Cingalese, by different authors. Some of these books, particularly the grammar, was afterwards reprinted at Amsterdam; but it should seem, have not been productive of the least utility.

them,

them, as well as the distraction that prevailed in the Councils of their East India Company, which deterred men of science from accepting any employment in their service, prevented them from attaining that accurate and profound knowledge in oriental politicks and learning which might have been expected from their talents. And it has been reserved for the enlightened genius of Britain, at once to explore the sources of the opulence, and to unlock the repositories of the literature of Asia.

Before I proceed to give a description of Ceylon, it is necessary to lay before the reader a brief account of the writers who have treated the same subject, both in ancient and modern times, and of the degree of credibility to which they are severally entitled.

The first distinguished writer of Antiquity who mentions Ceylon, under the name of *Tabrobana*, is STRABO, who gives an account of the Island, taken from the Journal of *Onesicritus*, an officer whom ALEXANDER had sent on a voyage to explore the southern parts of India. Onesicritus, like many
other

other travellers, has given his fancy considerable scope; but his description of the Island though extremely fabulous, is in some parts sufficiently correct, to prove, that it must be Ceylon*.

PLINY enters very largely on the subject of this Island†.—He quotes the authority of *Megasthenes*, who had written a history of India, and of *Eratosthenes*, a geometrician, to prove the fertility of its soil, and its contiguity to the Continent. Eratosthenes is related by Pliny to have drawn much of his information from four Ambassadors, *actually* sent by the King of this island to Rome, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; in consequence of the splendid account given of the Romans, by a freed slave of a farmer of the Roman customs in the Red Sea, who had been driven on the coast of Ceylon by a storm. This story of the Ambassadors, if Ceylon be the island to which it refers, is altogether a palpable fiction; as the religious restrictions, no less than the rigid customs of the Cingalese, and

* Vide Strabo, Lib. XV. p. 1013.

† Pliny, Lib. VI. c. 22.

the haughty spirit of their Kings, are totally repugnant to the idea of such an embassy. But the island to which the freed slave was driven by the storm, that carried his vessel out of the Red Sea, was most probably *Socotra*, a small island off Cape Gardafan, on the coast of Ethiopia;—as besides other weighty objections to Pliny's supposition of its being *Tabrobana*, (Ceylon,) it is hardly possible, that an open vessel, carried out of the Red Sea, by a storm, could in either of the monsoons be driven across the Indian Ocean to Ceylon, [For the north-west monsoon which prevails in the Red Sea, from May to October, does not extend farther than the straits of Babelmandel, from whence to Cape Gardafan, the wind, during these months, blows with great violence from west to south, and beyond that promontory it blows with equal violence from the south-west from May to October, over the whole extent of the Indian Ocean. During the other half of the year, the winds blow, in these different seas, exactly from the opposite points of the compass. It appears, therefore, sufficiently evident, that an undecked

decked vessel, unless conducted by very skilful seamen and navigators, could not have crossed the Indian Ocean, in the south-west monsoon, which is always extremely boisterous; and that even in the north-east monsoon, such a voyage required a degree of skill, which, in ancient times, no people but the Phœnicians are known to have possessed. And it is perfectly absurd to imagine, that a vessel could be *driven by a storm*, from the Red Sea to Ceylon, in either monsoon, as the course from the Red Sea to Ceylon is west-south-west; and consequently in the passage from the one to the other, you have in either monsoon a side-wind, which, though extremely favourable to vessels as they are now constructed, was adverse, and often destructive to the slender barks that traversed the Red Sea, before the improvements made in ship-building by the Arabs, in the 11th century of the Christian æra. I should not have detained the reader so long in shewing the fallacy of this account of the voyage of the *freed slave*, but from its having been credited by so eminent a writer as Pliny; who, though very inaccurate in his description

description of Ceylon, was among the best geographers, and was unquestionably the best naturalist of antiquity.

The curious narrative of the voyage of *Iambulus*, preserved by *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. II. c. 4. and very fully commented on by the celebrated *Baptisto Remusio*, in his valuable collection of voyages, would, in many respects, deserve to be noticed here; were it not pretty evident from *Remusio's* account, that the island in which *Iambulus* is said to have landed, and resided seven years, was not Ceylon, but either Java, or Sumatra*.

PTOLEMY gives a very particular account of this island. He mentions all the vegetable and mineral productions, for which it is now celebrated; and in treating of the animals of the island, he particularizes the elephant, the breed of which, he very correctly states, to be superior to that of any part of the continent of India. He also tells us, that the ancient name of *Tabrobana*, was *Simondi*, but in his time it was called

* Mr. Marsden, however, is of opinion that Sumatra was unknown to the ancients.

Salice,

Salice, which indeed resembles a common name it has to this day, on the coast of the Indian peninsula, *Selen-Dive*. The principal place in the island mentioned by Ptolemy, is *Anurrgrammum*, an ancient city, called by the natives *Anarodgurro*, and of which vestiges are still to be seen. Upon the whole the description of Ceylon by this great geographer, when compared with the accounts given of it by modern travellers, clearly proves, that the island was well known to the Romans. ARRIAN, in his invaluable little treatise, intitled, *The Circumnavigation of the Erythræan Sea*, describes the situation of Cape Comorin and Ceylon with singular accuracy.

MELA also mentions this island; but he betrays the most deplorable ignorance, both as to its extent and situation.

The next writer in chronological order who mentions Ceylon, is *Cosmas Indopleustes*, an Egyptian merchant who lived in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, and who published a narrative of his travels and voyages in India, which he dignified with the

name of *Christian Topography* *. He gives a short, but accurate, account of Ceylon which he calls *Silendiba*. Scarce any place in the world has got a greater variety of names. This one, however, is easily accounted for; as it is merely a Greek termination, given to the true name;—*f* or *b* is often put for *u*, and consequently *Silendiba* is the same with *Silendiva*, that is *Sielen*—but, more properly *Silán Island*. The narrative of *Cosmas* is intitled to credit, and may be perused with advantage.

One of the leading principles of the Mahomedan religion, which teaches its disciples to propagate their faith, by whatever means, either the virtues or the vices of men can minister; was no less powerful in the early periods of their history, in infusing that wild fanaticism which conducted them to conquest, than of inspiring that spirit of adventure which opened to them the benefits of commerce. Hence the Arabs in the fourth century of the *Hegira* †, were en-

* It is preserved in *Montfaucon's* Collections.

† *Hegira* signifies the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, from which event the Moslems date their æra.

couraged

couraged to sail across the Indian Ocean, and even to extend their voyages to the Eastern Archipelago. But in these voyages, the ports on the southern parts of the Coast of Malabar, and those of Ceylon, were the places at which they chiefly traded. Of this we have very sufficient testimony in the voyages of two Arabian merchants; but particularly in the discourse * of *Abu Zeid al Hasan*, of *Siraf*, which is in fact a commentary upon them; and which not only gives a just description of Ceylon, as to the face of the country, and many of the leading features in the character of the Cingalese, but likewise an account of China, and of some of the Eastern provinces of India.

* This work, with the Voyages above mentioned, was translated from the Arabick by the learned *Abbi Renaudot*, and published by him in Paris in 1718. He observes that the voyages were written in the year of the *Hegira* 237, and the discourse of *Abu Zeid al Hasan*, in the 303 of the *Hegira*. The authenticity of *Renaudot*'s publication was long doubted, both in France and England. But *M. de Guignes*, after a long search among the *Colbert* manuscripts, that were deposited in the King's library, found the identical Arabick manuscript which *Renaudot* had translated.

MARCO POLO, whose name is too well known, to need any description, visited Ceylon in the course of his travels in India; but the account that he has given of it, accords too much with that love of the marvellous, for which he is distinguished, to deserve a serious perusal.

The next traveller who describes Ceylon, is JOHN ALBERT DE MANDELSLOE, whose observations, though brief, are extremely accurate.

Ceylon was not neglected by the celebrated *Tavernier*, who touched at the island in 1648, in his voyage from Batavia to Europe; and who has described, the little he saw of it, with his usual accuracy.

Captain RIBEYRO, an officer in the Portuguese army, who had served in Ceylon, published a history of the island in 1680, which he presented to the King of Portugal. But he confines himself almost entirely to the history of the Portuguese establishments, the causes of the decline, and final loss of which, he points out with ability and truth; and he paints with a bold pencil, that mixture of pride, avarice, cruelty, ignorance, sloth,

loth, and luxury, which in conjunction with the arms of the Dutch, subdued his degenerate countrymen.

PHILIP BALDÆUS, a Dutch clergyman, who resided many years in Ceylon, published at Amsterdam, nearly at the same time, a very exact history of the wars between the Dutch and Portugueze in Ceylon: and in the course of his narration, he occasionally touches with great accuracy, on some of the customs and religious ceremonies of the Cingalese.

But of all the accounts that have been written of Ceylon, that of our countryman ROBERT KNOX, is the most faithful and complete. He lived twenty years among the Cingalese, chiefly at the capital of the King of Candy; and being a man of sense and observation, he neither seems to have allowed any thing to have escaped his notice, nor to have exaggerated, except in one or two instances, any part of his relation*.

The

* He published *his historical relation of Ceylon* in the year 1681. He was chief mate of the ship *Ann*, commanded by his father Robert Knox, in the service of the Old East India Company; this ship, on her return home from Madras,

The veracity of Mr. Knox, in all material points, is fully proved, in a little tract, entitled, "The Life and Adventures of Christopher Wolfe, with his voyage to Ceylon;" a work in itself perfectly accurate, and extremely useful and entertaining.

The publick are indebted to the learned Doctor THUNBERG, for the only scientifick account which has yet been given by any traveller, of the natural productions of Ceylon; and it is much to be regretted, he did not survey the interior of the country.

Such are all the principal writers who have employed their pens in describing this

Madras, was obliged to put into the harbour of *Trincmal-lee*, to refit, having been dismasted in a violent storm. Here the captain and his crew injudiciously landed, and carried on trade with the natives. The King of Candy, incensed at their doing so, without his permission, sent orders to make the captain and officers prisoners, and to detain the ship until their conduct should be investigated. The captain, his son, and some part of the crew, being on shore when the King's order arrived, were immediately seized; but the people on board the ship refused to obey the mandate, weighed anchor, and sailed for England. The captain shortly after died of the harsh treatment he received; but his son survived, and after living twenty-two years in the island, effected his escape.

delightful

delightful island; but I cannot permit myself to conclude the list, without mentioning (although he never visited Ceylon) the illustrious and venerable Mr. PENNANT, who is now enjoying the dignity of classick repose, in the serene evening of an useful life*.

It is from these authorities, and from my conversation with Mr. BOYD respecting Ceylon, that I have derived the greatest part of the information, which I shall now endeavour, as concisely as possible, to give the reader.

The Island of Ceylon is situated between $5^{\circ} 46' 10''$ and $9^{\circ} 50' 40''$ of north latitude, and between $79^{\circ} 36' 50''$ and $82^{\circ} 10' 00''$ of longitude, east from Greenwich. The length of the island from *Dondra-head*, south, to *Tellipeli*, north, is 270 miles; the greatest breadth is from *Columbo* to *Trincolée*, 160 miles. From *Dondra-head*, as far north as *Trincomallée*, its direction is due north and south, from the latitude of *Trincomallée* to that of *Tellipeli*, it runs north by west, and

* See his account of Ceylon, in the 1st vol. of his *View of Hindustan*.—Since writing the above, Mr. PENNANT has paid his debt to nature.

south

south by east. The shores of Ceylon are washed on the north and north-east, by the *Bay of Bengal*, and on the east-south-east, south and south-west, by the great Indian Ocean: on the west it is bounded by the Gulph of *Manáar*, which separates it from Cape *Comoren* and the Coast of *Madura*; and on the north-west, it is divided from the coast of *Tanjore* and *Marawar*, by *Palk's Passage*. This straight is celebrated for the extensive Pearl fishery * which was carried on in it, on both shores, by the Dutch, and which is now carried on by Great-Britain. It is only navigable for small vessels; and at the narrowest place, called Adam's-bridge, from the small island of *Manáar*, on the coast of Ceylon, to the still smaller one on the opposite coast of *Ramifuram*, about 20 miles across, can only be passed by the boats

* In the year 1771, *Márrua*, a small place, within a few miles of *Tutucorin*, was taken possession of by the *Nabob* of the Carnatic, who immediately laid claim to the Pearl Fishery, and to which demand the Dutch, for whatever reasons, thought fit to accede. *Van Imhof*, in his elaborate Memorial respecting the state of the Dutch possessions in India, considers *Morraua* as the most important frontier place of Ceylon.

employed

employed in the Fishery, or vessels of nearly the same size.

The northern part of the island is flat, and in some places swampy; but on that account extremely favourable to the growth of rice, large fields of which are divided by lofty woods, covered with perpetual foliage, abounding with all the fruits common to tropical countries, and plentifully stocked with all the animals that are to be found in the forests of India. The north and north-west shores of the island, from point *Pedro* to *Negombo*, are indented by inlets of the sea, some of which, were it not for the shallowness of the water, would form commodious harbours. The largest of these arms of the sea extends almost across the island, from *Mulipatti*, on the east side, to the town of *Jaffnapatnam*, on the west, and forms that district, which takes the name of the latter place. But all the other shores of the island are bold and rocky; and excepting a few reefs on the south-east side, present no dangers to the mariner. Sailing along the southern shores of Ceylon, from *Trincomallée* to *Negombo*, the face of the country exhibits to the eye of taste, a variety
of

of landscapes, at once beautiful and grand. With a good telescope you distinctly perceive the land in some parts rising gradually, in others abruptly from the shore,—every where cloathed in verdure, interspersed with villages, shaded by stately trees,—divided into corn-fields in many places inclosed with quickset hedges,—farther back in the country you behold plantations of coffee, and whole woods of cinnamon, and various other aromatics, frequently overtopped by the lofty tamorind and the palm, occasionally giving way to the majestic banyan, and intermixed throughout with trees bearing their blossoms and their fruit together. The eye at length loses sight of these woods on the acclivities of stupendous mountains, whose broken precipices, tufted with old trees, overlook the plains, and whose shaggy tops tower above the clouds. It is scarcely possible for the imagination to picture scenery more magnificent and delightful.

The territory which the Dutch acquired in Ceylon, and which now belongs to Great Britain, extends along the whole of the sea-coasts of the island, except about ten miles
of

of the eastern coast, in the district of *Seavara*, which the King of Candy still retains. In the cinnamon country, on the west and south-west side of the island, from *Columbo* to *Matura*, our possessions stretch about 24 miles inland, where they border on the King of Candy's dominions. On the east-side at *Batticola* and *Trincomallée*, they do not extend into the country above 12 miles. On the north side at *Jaffnapatnam* and *Marrua*, about the same distance.

Columbo, the principal town in the English territory, and the residence of the Governor, is prettily situated, in one of the most fertile, though not the most populous, parts of the island, in which rice fields, meadow ground, and cinnamon groves, are beautifully mingled. The town of *Columbo* is neatly built, large, populous, and extremely clean. It was tolerably well fortified by the Dutch, but from its natural advantages is capable of being made a very strong place. There is a school here, for the propagation of the Christian religion. And the native Christians, Roman Catholics, and Protestants, alone, have been computed by the Dutch,

to

to amount to no less than 300,000. Admitting, however, this calculation to be just, these Christians unquestionably consist of the descendants of the Portuguese, the offspring of the Dutch by Malabar women, and perhaps a few converts from among the *Parriarhs* or *Chandalos*, a class of people rendered infamous in every country where the Hindû religion prevails, from being Hindûs, who have been driven from society, and debarred all intercourse with their several sects, for having violated the sanctity of those customs which the faith of Brahmâ enjoins. There is no evidence whatever, of either Mahomedan or Christian zeal, having ever made any considerable number of profelytes from any of the great established tribes of the Hindû race.

Contiguous to *Columbo* there is a botanical garden, which was established several years ago, by the celebrated botanist JOHN GIDION LOTEN, of *Utrecht*; and which, I trust, will not now be neglected. The greatest disadvantage attending the situation of *Columbo*, is its open road, which is only safe during the months of November, December, January, and February; it being

too much exposed for ships to ride in with security, during the changing of the monsoons, and it being altogether impracticable for any vessel to withstand the violence of the south-west monsoon, from its blowing directly on this coast.

About fifteen miles north of *Columbo*, on the sea coast, is *Negombo*, an inconsiderable fortress, but the district in which it is situated produces the best cinnamon in our possessions. The next place of consequence on the coast, is *Jaffnapatnam*, which is situated at the north end of the island, opposite to the coast of *Tanjore*. It is strongly fortified. On the east side of the island, the harbour of *Trincomallée*, is the first object that claims our attention:—a spacious and noble bay, which the whole navy of England may enter with ease, and ride in, at all seasons, with perfect safety. The harbour is guarded by two fortifications, *Trincomallée* fort, and fort *Ostenburgh*, the last of which stands upon a cliff, projecting about 1500 paces into the sea: but it does not, in its present state, sufficiently cover the shipping. It was originally built by the Portuguese,
with

with the materials of an august pagoda of exquisite workmanship, which stood on the same ground that this fortress now occupies, and which their frantic bigotry prompted them to demolish.

This noble harbour, undoubtedly of great political consequence to British India, has, however, two material disadvantages. The tide does not rise to a sufficient height to admit the construction of wet-docks, except for vessels of an inconsiderable size: and the harbour is situated in the *only* barren part of the island. The country about *Trincomallée* has never been cultivated, and its arid soil yields no spontaneous productions, —not even any pasturage for cattle. The nearest farm villages are upwards of twelve miles distant, from which the garrison of *Trincomallée* and Fort *Ostenburgh* are supplied with provisions.

Eighteen leagues to the southward of *Trincomallée*, at the head of a deep bay, lies *Batticola*, situated in the district of that name. It is a small fortress built by the Dutch; but of great importance, on account of the extreme fertility of the adjacent

cent country, which, during a war, or times of scarcity in the district of *Trincomallée*, can amply supply the garrisons there with all kinds of provisions.

Punto Gallo is situated at the southern extremity of the island, in the rich and beautiful province of *Matura*. This is a very small, and is far from being a secure harbour, and would not deserve any notice here, but from its being the place where all the products of Ceylon are shipped for Europe.

Such are the situations of the different places in Ceylon, now flourishing under the British flag; and which, if governed by that enlightened policy, which has for a considerable period guided the administration of our Indian affairs, will be productive of many political, if not commercial advantages.

The whole of the interior of Ceylon, excepting the small province of *Coylet*, or the country of the *Wanees*, in the northern part of the island, is peopled by the *Cingalese*, the aboriginal inhabitants, and under the government of the King of Candy. His dominions

dominions are said to be regularly divided * into provinces and districts; but as neither their number nor size, has been accurately ascertained, I shall not run the risk of misleading the reader, by adopting the division of Mr. KNOX, as it appears to me to be extremely fanciful, and as I am not sufficiently informed on the subject, either to decide where it is accurate, or to correct its mistakes. It should seem, however, that the kingdom of Candy is divided into about thirty districts, of which the principal is *Candy Uda*, a name signifying the "*top of the hills*," and appropriate to that part of the country. These districts are enclosed by lofty and almost impenetrable woods, which are preserved by the King, and revered by the people, as the natural bulwarks of their country; and which, therefore, it would be accounted sacrilege to fell. There are guards regularly stationed at all the different passages throughout the woods.

The general aspect of the interior of the island, as has been already described of its

* KNOX on Ceylon.

shores,

shores, is extremely picturesque. High mountains, covered with old wood, and wide vales fertilized by innumerable rivulets, every where cultivated, and divided by thick rows of fruit trees, that intersect, and thereby secure the beautiful little hamlets that lie scattered around, from the ferocious inhabitants of the forest, present on all sides the most diversified scenery and enchanting prospects; while they fill the mind with a long train of the most pleasing reflections.

The most considerable mountain in the island is called *Hamalell*, or *Adam's Peak*. It is situated in the south-east side of *Candy-Uda*, and is of a pyramidical form. On its top there is a large flat stone, with an impression on it, something in the shape of a man's foot, but considerably longer, being about two feet long. There is a tradition among the *Cingalese* that *Buddha*, the great author of their religion, *left the print of his foot on this stone, when he ascended to Heaven!* on which account, it is deemed sacred, and people of all ranks and ages perform annual pilgrimages to it.

Most of the rivers in the island take their rise in this mountain, the largest of which is, *Mavalagonga*, that falls into the sea at *Trincomallée*. It is about a gun shot in breadth, and is chiefly from 10 to 12 feet deep, for several miles up from its mouth; but the numerous rocks which intercept its course, render it altogether unnavigable for vessels, that are constructed for a sea voyage, though the *Cingalese* have boats upon it, and it might, in many places, be made serviceable to the purposes of trade. Of this river, Mr. KNOX gives the following account.—“It is so deep,” says he, “that
“unless it be very dry weather, a man cannot wade over it, except towards the head
“of it. They use canoes to pass over it;
“for there are no bridges built over it,
“being so broad, and the stream in the
“time of the rains (which in this country
“are very great) runs so high, that they
“cannot make them, neither if they could,
“would it be permitted; for the King careth not to make his country easy to travel,
“but desires to keep it intricate. This river
“runs within a mile or less of the city of

"Candy. In some places of it, full of rocks,
"in others clear for three or four miles."

The seasons in *Ceylon*, as at *Cape Comorin*, are entirely under the influence of the monsoon winds. The south-west monsoon bringing constant rain to the western, and dry weather and a serene sky to the eastern parts of the island. The south-east monsoon, on the contrary, producing the opposite effects. "The rains and dry weather," says Mr. KNOX, "part themselves about the middle of the island, as often times I have seen, being on the one side of a mountain, called *Cauras-King*, rainy weather, and as soon as I got on the other, dry, and so exceeding hot, that I could scarcely walk on the ground, being, as the manner there is, barefoot."

The island produces some useful minerals, and a variety of gems. Iron, copper, and black-lead, are found in great abundance: and one of the mountains in *Candy-Uda* is said to contain a gold mine, the working of which is prohibited, by the prudent policy of the King. All the precious stones

in Hindustân, are to be met with in Ceylon*.

With regard to the *vegetable kingdom*, this island may very truly be denominated the garden of Asia, for, excepting the tea-plant, and the *mangussteen* of the *Malay* islands, all the trees, plants, and flowers, of that great and fertile region of the globe, seem collected here:—besides the celebrated plant peculiar to itself. Of this last only, it were necessary to give any description in this place. But as the far-famed BREAD-FRUIT, is generally supposed to belong exclusively to *Otaheite*, and the neighbouring islands in the Pacific Ocean, it is essential to inform the reader, that it has grown in Ceylon from time out of memory, where it is certainly indigenous, as has been very satisfactorily proved, twenty years ago, by Dr. THUNBERG; a fact with which our government appear to have been unacquainted, by having sent Capt. BLIGH twice to *Otaheite*; for that, which

* See a very scientific and particular account of them, in Dr. THUNBERG'S Travels, Vol. IV. p. 218.

might so easily have been procured in Ceylon. Of this plant there are two species; one the *Integrifolia*, the other the *Incitus* of LINNÆUS*. Mr. KNOX mentions both of them. He calls the *Integrifolia* by the Ceylonefe name *Warragah*. The other kind he calls *Vellas*. This species is called *Jacca* by the *Portugueze*. It is found in *Sumatra*, as well as in some parts of *Tanjore*, and the Carnatic. Dr. THUNBERG'S account of these fruits, is to be found in Vol. LXIX, of the Transactions of the Royal Society, under the general name of *Tfidadium*. He brought with him, from Ceylon, some hundred shrubs of both species, with the intention of transplanting them in Holland; but he unfortunately lost them all, in a severe gale of wind, when he was within a few days sail of his destined port.—The *Cingalese* use the *Vellas* as bread, and in times of scarcity instead of rice.

The *Laurus Cinnamomum*, or Cinnamon, which is a species of Laurel that grows to

* Vide Suppl. p. 412.

the height of twenty feet, and which, notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. TAYLOR WHITE, Mr. COMBES *, and even Mr. PENNANT himself, I am inclined to think, is peculiar to Ceylon, and a species of the *Laurus*, totally distinct from the *Cassia*. And were this a fit place to discuss the question, I could support my opinion on the authority of a Botanist † of great talents and research, who is at present employed in exploring the interior of *Sumatra*. The ardent and adventurous philosophy of this gentleman, not content to pursue fame in cultivated regions, and through beaten ways, has led him to forego the comforts of society, to encounter the most imminent perils, to penetrate into an unknown country, and to mix with man in his rudest state;—and thus by laying open new sources of information, to widen the sphere of useful knowledge, and to promote the interests of his country.

The *Cinnamon* tree grows spontaneously all over Ceylon, excepting the district of *Jaff*.

* A gentleman who resided some time in *Sumatra*.

† Mr. CHARLES CAMPBELL.

napatnam. In the districts of *Columbo*, and *Matura*, the Dutch. have improved the bark by cultivation. "The superfine cinnamon," says Dr. THUNBERG, "is known by the following properties, viz. in the first place it is thin, and rather pliable; it ought commonly to be about the substance of royal paper, or somewhat thicker; secondly, it is of a light colour, and rather inclinable to yellow, bordering but little upon brown. Thirdly, it possesses a sweetish taste, and at the same time is not stronger than may be borne without pain, and is not succeeded by any after taste. Cinnamon is barked in the woods at two different seasons of the year. The first is termed the *grand harvest*, and lasts from April to August: the second is the *small harvest*, and lasts from November to the month of January*." This being the staple commodity of the country, the culture of it is attended to with peculiar care.

* Dr. THUNBERG then proceeds to describe with scrupulous accuracy, the manner of barking the cinnamon: but as the passage is too long to be quoted here, the reader is referred to the 4th vol. of his *Travels*, p. 199.

The

The state of agriculture in Ceylon appears to be as far advanced as that of the neighbouring continent; and the island produces all the different grains that are to be found there,—though not in such abundance as the benignity of the climate, and fertility of the soil, would lead us to expect. For it seldom yields a larger crop of rice, than its inhabitants, in the course of the year, can consume. This is to be attributed to a want of industry among the *Cingalese*; who, though in many respects, as highly civilized as any other race of Hindûs, do in this instance, from their insular situation, and their living in a mountainous country, still retain that distinguishing characteristick of a pastoral people.

The Zoology of this island, as well as of India at large, has been so copiously treated and ably delineated by Mr. PENNANT, who compiled his interesting Works on the subject from the observations and drawings of Mr. LOTEN, Dr. THUNBERG, M. D'ARSONVILLE, and other able naturalists, that it were equally presumptuous and unnecessary to offer any account of my own. I shall therefore

therefore describe those animals most worthy of notice, nearly in the words of Mr. PENNANT.

“ The race of *Elephants* in Ceylon, are large, and more adapted for war, than those of the continent of India. They are at present taken in different ways, and after being tamed, are sent to the great annual fair at *Jaffnapatnam*. The merchants of *Malabar* and *Bengal*, have notice of the numbers and qualities of the elephants to be sent up for sale; sometimes a hundred are sold at one fair. A full grown beast, 12 or 14 feet high, will be sold at the rate of two thousand dollars.

“ The method of taking the elephants * is by a snare, or *elephant-toil*, constructed of stout cocoa-trees, almost in the form of a triangle. At one of the angles there is an opening, fortified with stakes, planted close to each other, and held firmly together by ropes. This opening is so narrow that only one elephant can enter at a time. When

* This description of the manner of taking elephants is related by Dr. THUNBERG, who had been an eye-witness to these noble animals being drove into the toil.

orders

orders are given for an elephant chase, a great multitude of men are sent into the woods, who encompass a certain extent of ground known to be frequented by elephants. After this, they gradually draw nearer, beat drums, and contract the area of the circle; in the mean time the elephants approach nearer and nearer the side on which the toil is placed. Finally, torches are lighted up, to terrify these huge animals, and to force them to enter the toil. The last time that elephants were caught in this manner, their numbers amounted to upwards of a hundred, and on former occasions has sometimes amounted to one hundred and thirty." The first care of the captors is to bring the elephants out of the *toil*, and to tame them. For this purpose one, two, or more elephants are placed at the side where the opening is, through which each elephant is let out singly, when he is immediately bound fast, with strong ropes, to the tame ones, who discipline him with their proboscis, till he likewise becomes tame, and suffers himself to be handled, and managed at pleasure. This discipline is sometimes accomplished in a few days,

days, by bringing the wild elephant under controul by hunger.

"The *horses* of this island are descended from the Arabian breed.

Buffaloes are as common here as on the continent, and, as is the case in *Sumatra* *, are the only animals used for rural economy.

Monkies swarm all over the island, and are as large as those of *Sumatra* and *Java*.—The *Wanderow*, a species mentioned by KNOX, with a long white beard from ear to ear, a black face, and dark grey body, is, as far as we have information, peculiar to Ceylon.

Wild-boars, *bears*, *jackalls*, and *tigers*, abound in the woods.

The *Naga*, or as the Portuguese call it, the *Cabra de Capello*, or hooded snake, is very common in Ceylon.

The vast snake called *Boa*, and *Anacandaia*, by the *Cingalese*, is to be found here: though not of so large a size as those men-

* *Vide* MARSDEN'S History of Sumatra, p. 94.

tioned by Dr. SHAW *. It is doubtless the same monstrous serpent described by *Quintus Curtius*, and *Arrian*, which astonished *Alexander* in his march near the banks of the *Indus*.

The insects of Ceylon are of uncommon sizes; scorpions have been found there upwards of eight inches long; *Scolopendræ*, seven inches in length; and of spiders, the *Aranea aricularia*, with legs four inches long, and the body covered with thick black hair.

Of the birds of Ceylon, the only one I shall mention is the *Tailor-bird*, because it is less known, and more singular, than any other bird of the East. It is thus described by Mr. PENNANT, in his *Indian Zoology*:

“ Had Providence left the feathered tribe
 “ unendowed with any particular instinct,
 “ the birds of the torrid zone would have
 “ built their nests in the same unguarded
 “ manner as those of *Europe*: but there,
 “ the lesser species, having a certain pre-

* *Vide* the Naturalist's Miscellany, in which these snakes are compared for size to the mast of a ship.

“ science of the dangers that surround
“ them, and of their own weakness, suspend
“ their nests at the extreme branches
“ of the trees: they are conscious of inhabiting
“ a climate replete with enemies to them and their young; with snakes that
“ twine up the bodies of the trees, and apes
“ that are perpetually in search of prey;
“ but, heaven-instructed, they elude the gliding
“ of the one, and the activity of the other.”

“ The brute creation in the torrid zone,
“ are more at enmity with one another,
“ than in other climates; and the birds
“ are obliged to exert unusual artifice in
“ placing their little broods out of the reach
“ of an invader. Each aims at the same
“ end, though by different means. Some
“ form their pensile nest in the shape of a
“ purse, deep and open at the top; and
“ others still more cautious, with an entrance
“ at the very bottom, forming their
“ lodge near the summit.

“ But the little species we describe, seems
“ to have greater diffidence than the others;
“ it will not trust its nest even to the extremity

“ mity of a slender twig, but makes one
 “ more advance to safety, by fixing it to
 “ the leaf itself.

“ It picks up a dead leaf, and surprizing
 “ to relate, sews it to the side of a living
 “ one, its slender bill being the needle, and
 “ its thread some fine fibres; the lining,
 “ feathers, gossamer, and down. Its eggs are
 “ white; the colour of the bird light yel-
 “ low; its length 3 inches; its weight only
 “ three-sixteenths of an ounce; so that the
 “ materials of the nest, and its own size, are
 “ not likely to draw down an habitation
 “ that hangs on so flight a tenure.”

The other birds of the island are described by Mr. PENNANT with equal accuracy; but as most of them are known all over Hindustân, it would be wholly superfluous to notice them.

In the fishes of Ceylon there is nothing peculiar;—they are precisely the same as those found on the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, and among the islands of the *Indian Archipelago*.

Having thus taken a rapid survey of the Natural History of Ceylon, I shall now proceed

ceed to the more important and arduous part of the account which I have promised to give,—a sketch of the character, manners, religion, and civil government of that ancient people, who inhabit this distinguished island.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon, consist of two classes of people, the *Cingalese* and the *Vaddahs*. The *Cingalese* appear from their language, letters, and ancient monuments, to have been, beyond time of memory, a race of Hindûs instructed in all the arts of civil life, nearly in as high a degree as the nations of the neighbouring continent. The *Vaddahs* are a people still in the rudest stage of social life;—they live embosomed in the woods, or in the hollows of the mountains;—hunting their sole employment, and providing sustenance for the passing day their only care. Whether the *Cingalese* and *Vaddahs* were originally one people, differing only in those peculiar characteristics which distinguish the inhabitants of lowlands, from those of adjoining mountains in every part of the world; is a question, which if it were possible, would not be very material to resolve. Equally fruitless and unnecessary would

would it be to inquire, whether the first inhabitants of this island were indigenous, or adventitious settlers from the coasts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*. I shall not waste the reader's time in so unprofitable a discussion. It will be sufficient to remark, that if Ceylon was peopled from the continent, as it is certainly natural to suppose,—the operation of a physical, without the aid of any moral * cause, has in a long succession of ages produced a wider and more striking difference between these people and the race from which they are said to be descended, than is any where else to be found in the history of mankind.

The *Vaddahs* speak a dialect of the *Cingalese* language, and some of them acknowledge the authority of the King of Candy. Near *Hourly*, the most remote and mountainous part of the King's dominions, the neighbouring *Vaddah* families are not wholly unacquainted with the principles of barter. They exchange with the *Cingalese*, elephants

* For the principles and many of the forms of their religion, laws, and government, are the same as those of other Hindû nations.

teeth, and deer's flesh, for arrows, cloth, &c. This practice, however, is by no means general; for two-thirds of them hold no communication whatever with the *Cingalese*, and have an utter antipathy to strangers. They are very robust and hardy:—in their dispositions resolute and inflexible, but irascible and treacherous; in their manners they assume a courtesy hardly reconcilable with the character of any untutored people, far less with the other qualities of their own. With an almost brutal ignorance of all human acquirements, they however vindicate their own character, and preserve the dignity of their kind, by a BELIEF in GOD, and by a strict observance of divine worship, indued with the solemnities of religion, though they be deformed by idolatry, and tarnished with superstitious sacrifices. In some places they have erected temples; but for the most part they perform worship at an altar constructed of bamboos, under the shade of the banyan-tree. Their religious doctrine seems to consist of some indistinct notions of the fundamental principles of the Braminical faith.

They worship a particular God*, whom they believe to have descended from Heaven many millions of years ago, to instruct them in the duties of life. To him, they offer up sacrifices at all their festivals; and through his favour they hope for eternal bliss, or from his enmity they dread eternal punishment. The *Vaddahs* live in families, or small tribes, each of which is governed by a chieftain, selected from among the strongest and most dexterous of their huntsmen. To have killed a certain number of deer, is at once the greatest ambition, and highest praise of a youthful *Vaddah*. It not only gains him the applause of the men, but also recommends him to the favour of the women. —When a youth solicits a girl in marriage from her parents, it is required of him to mention what success he has had in hunting; and if he obtains their consent, the portion they give their daughter is paid *in hunting dogs*, the number of which is equal to the deer

* The name is not mentioned by KNOX, the only writer who gives a faithful account of these people.

he has slain. In this state of life, there exist, in the mountains of Ceylon, several thousands of the human race, in whom, example hath called forth and embodied that spirit of religion, or belief in some presiding Providence, which is implanted in the nature of man, without having inspired that wish to meliorate their condition, which is the living principle of civilization and improvement. Secured in their independence by their situation and their poverty, and supplied from their woods with all the necessaries of life, that the climate requires, they look down from their rugged precipices, on the cultivated vales of their neighbours, with the most frigid indifference. The cloathing and rich trappings, the comfortable dwellings and fruitful fields, the arts and luxuries of the *Cingalese*, excite no feelings of surprise, no sentiments of admiration, no desire of imitation, not even any emotions of envy, in the sluggish bosoms of the naked and houseless *Vaddahs*,—in whose stubborn minds no love of industry takes root, no emulation quickens, nothing, but the grosser passions, grows. And this extraordinary race exhibits

bits the phenomenon of a people practising a religion, rational and benevolent and mild in its principles, yet living for a series of ages almost in a state of quiescent barbarism, with the example of arts and civilization perpetually before them.

The *Cingalese*, who have already been so often mentioned, and who are the subjects of the King of Candy, are, perhaps, the most handsome, both in their persons and countenances, of the whole Hindû race. Resembling the Hindûs of *Bahar*, in their complexions, their features have the acuteness, and bespeak the intelligence, of Frenchmen. In height, the men are from 5 feet 6 inches, to 5 feet 10; the women about 5 feet. The men, though not exactly straight, nor well proportioned in their limbs, are yet extremely nimble, active, and hardy. The women, though not fair, nor beautiful, are yet exquisitely delicate and graceful. The men wear a muslin cloth wrapped round their loins, like the Hindûs of Bengal, with a jacket buttoned at the wrists, and gathered at the shoulders like a shirt; on their heads a red cap, with flaps that cover
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their ears; they wear a handsome short hanger, and on their right side, a knife of considerable length. The dress of the women is a waistcoat of white calico, embroidered with blue and red flowers, very prettily wrought, over which is loosely thrown a white muslin cloth, proportioned in fineness and length to the rank of the wearer: a piece of fancy-coloured silk is worn on the head, sufficiently large to cover the hair, which is done up with much neatness; and their ears, necks, arms, and ankles, are adorned with jewels.

The men are grave and dignified, yet courteous and elegant in their deportment; penetrating and sagacious in understanding, they are prompt, judicious, and intelligent in publick affairs; and sensible, temperate and prudent in private life:—fertile and lively in imagination, they are ingenious, subtle, and eloquent. Calm, but resolute in their tempers, it is equally difficult to provoke and to appease their anger:—indolent in their dispositions, they are averse from labour:—languid in their passions, they are little susceptible of the delicacies
and

and raptures of love, or of the sympathies and enthusiasm of friendship; but, therefore, moderate in their desires, they are even-minded, unassuming, and gentle.—Selfish in their principles of action, they are often goaded by avarice to the violation of their promises; but filled with the most awful reverence for a religion which inculcates the most sublime sentiments of humanity, and which is interwoven with the whole system of their laws and civil polity, they are unchangeable in their worship to God, devout in their love for their country, and uniform in their charities to man.

The *Cingalese* women exhibit a striking contrast to those of all other oriental nations, in some of the most prominent and distinctive features of their character. Instead of that lazy apathy, insipid modesty, and sour austerity, which have characterized the sex throughout the Asiatick world, in every period of its history; in this island they possess that active sensibility, winning bashfulness, and amiable ease, for which the women of modern Europe are peculiarly famed. The *Cingalese* women are not merely

merely the slaves and mistresses, but in many respects, the companions and friends of their husbands; for though the men be authorized by law to hold their wives and daughters in tyrannical subjection, yet their sociable and placable dispositions, soften the rigour of their domestic policy. And POLYGAMY being unknown*, and DIVORCE permitted

* “ In this country,” says KNOX, “ each man, even “ the greatest, hath but one wife; but a woman often “ has two husbands. For it is lawful and common with “ them for two brothers to keep house together with one “ wife, and the children do acknowledge and call both “ fathers.” *Vide KNOX on Ceylon, p. 94.*

A plurality of husbands is also allowed and more extensively and generally practised in *Boutân* and *Thibet*, where one wife sometimes cohabits with all the males of a numerous family, without producing any jealousy among them. But there is no other people in Asia, besides the *Cingalese*, who do not in a greater, or a less degree, practise polygamy. It is permitted by the religion and laws of *Brâhma*, though it has in all ages been less common among the *Hindûs*, than any other people on the continent of Asia. Polyandry, however, is directly contrary to one of the fundamental principles of the Hindû law of marriage, which not only positively forbids women to marry twice, but recommends them to burn with their deceased husbands;—a sacrifice, which as well as some other of the rites and ceremonies of the Braminical

permitted among the *Cingalese*, the men have none of that constitutional jealousy, which has given birth to the voluptuous and unmanly despotism that is practised over the weaker sex, in the most enlightened nations, and sanctioned by the various religions of Asia. The *Cingalese* neither keep their women in confinement, nor impose on them any humiliating restraints. "The greatest *ladies* in the land," says KNOX, "will frequently talk and discourse "with any men they please, although their "husbands be present."

The houses of the *Cingalese* peasantry resemble the cottages of the *Ryots* of Bengal. They are either built of clay or rattans, and thatched very indifferently, with a long rank grass, which grows in the woods. In the front of these huts, there is a piazza, of about six feet wide, in which they generally sit, according to the Asiatick custom, on mats, or carpets, in the morn-

Braminical religion, is unobserved by the *Cingalese*, who condemn the practice as abhorrent to humanity, and who say they were instructed to do so by their God *Buddha*, who descended from Heaven to reform and to purify the doctrines of the *Vedas*.

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ings and evenings. Their furniture consists of a few earthen pots, hung up in the middle of their houses, four or five stools, some brass basons to hold their victuals, some mats and coarse blanket rugs, that serve them for bedding, some cooking utensils and implements of husbandry. The houses of the priests, ministers of state, generals, and other great men, are built of stone, and though seldom more than one story high are always commodious, and the principal apartments sometimes splendid. Their towns contain little more than forty or fifty houses. The city of Candy and the King's palace are very elegantly described in Mr. BOYD's account of his Embassy.

In their persons and houses, the *Cingalese* are exceedingly clean, and in dressing their victuals scrupulously nice. Their principal food is rice, with which they mix *curries*, made of fish, fowl, or the flesh of mutton and goat; being, like all other Hindûs, instructed by their religion, rather to endure famine and suffer death, than eat the flesh of the cow. The only spirituous liquor known.

known among them is *arrack*: but their religion enjoins them to abstain from all strong liquors whatever, and their desires seldom tempt them to transgress this ordinance.

The women are excellent housewives;—thrifty without meanness, and hospitable without profusion. To be noted for œconomy and hospitality is their highest ambition; and it is accounted the duty of mothers, to instil these virtues into their children. Hence the *Cingalese* unite the glowing liberality of a simple people, with that prudence and foresight which are the effects of cultivation and refinement. Yet many of their customs are barbarous and gross. We almost cease to admire those generous feelings which have forbidden them to keep women in slavish privacy and bondage, which have prompted them to despise the practice, and enabled them to withstand the example of neighbouring nations, and which have therefore allowed the sex to move in their natural sphere,—when we are informed, that with them, the virtue of female chastity is not held to be a principle

ciple of honour. Mr. KNOX tells us, that it is a common practice among them, "to permit their wives and daughters to lie with other men; and that they do not conceive there is the smallest impropriety in so doing, provided they be of the same cast with themselves,"—and further, "that men do not consider it a matter of any consequence, whether their wives, at the first marriage, be maids or not."—Such practices and sentiments are so diametrically opposite to the uniform and immemorial observances of all other Asiatick nations, and to the standing maxim of the Hindû law, which enjoins, *that the indubitable virginity of the bride shall be the indispensable and invariable preliminary condition of all contracts of marriage*, as well as so positively subversive of that moral order and decency, which are essential to the well-being of civilized society, that I am inclined to think Mr. KNOX has somewhat discoloured this part of his picture, with the fancies of an unphilosophick mind, disgusted at a system of manners equally adverse to that to which it was habituated, and to the early notions it had imbibed. I shall,

shall, however, suspend my observations on these extraordinary customs, which even surpass in sensuality those of the luxurious savages of *Otabeite*, until our further acquaintance with the *Cingalese*, shall have enabled me to rectify, or to prove the account of Mr. KNOX. In the mean while it must be admitted, from the facts that have been already stated, as well as from the circumstance of there being no publick concubines allowed by law, and forming a distinct class in the community, as in other Hindû countries, that female frailty is here unavoidably exposed to innumerable dangers; and, that, therefore, if it be not armed with that high sense of honour which is its natural guardian, the manners of the women, notwithstanding their seeming modesty, must necessarily be extremely lax. Mr. KNOX, gives a very minute description of their licentious habits, which would be too gross, if it were not too tedious, to cite.

The *Cingalese* do not marry until the age of puberty; yet according to the Eastern custom, the matrimonial union is neither proposed nor ratified by the parties themselves, but by their
their

their parents; who often conclude the agreement, and even appoint the nuptial day, without the previous consent of the youthful couple. Hence their first marriages are rather ties of mutual convenience, than bonds of affection and love; but as these may be dissolved at pleasure on the same principles, they are self-destructive in their nature, and most pernicious in their consequences. Second marriages, therefore, are soon contracted by reciprocal choice, which, notwithstanding what has been said of the women, are often attended with the permanent felicity, that the sacred institution, when founded on natural principles, is so well calculated to produce.

The religious system of the *Cingalese*, is nearly the same in its great fundamental principles as those of *China* and *Japan*, of *Tibet* and *Boutan*, of *Siam*, and of the different states of the *Pegue*, or *Burmahn* empire*.

The

* Of this country we have at present a very limited knowledge.—No account of it has yet been published, except

The general principle of the theology of these nations is, a firm belief in the supreme God, and of his Being and special Providence. Their great lawgivers and philosophers have demonstrated the truth of this principle, "from the perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature,

except a short one in HAMILTON'S Voyages, which deserves to be mentioned, much less to be perused; although both French and English factories have, at different periods, been established at *Rangoon*, the seaport of the *Burmah* dominions, and although British vessels have traded there, for upwards of a century and a half. The jealous policy of this government, which in many respects resembles that of China, would not permit our merchants and mariners to have any intercourse with the interior of the country,—till the penetrating sagacity of Lord TEIGNMOUTH saw the utility of endeavouring to remove those scruples, and the commercial advantages that would result to British India, from sending a special embassy to the *Burmah* Emperor. Accordingly, in the year 1795, he deputed Captain MICHAEL SYMES to the Court of *Amarapura*. The result of that mission is said to promise every advantage that could be expected from it, and to reflect much credit on the talents of the gentleman to whose conduct it was intrusted.

“ in the whole fabrick of the visible world.”
 In this universal TRUTH they agree with the
Brahmens, on whose doctrines the religion
 of the *Cingalese* is undoubtedly founded; and
 from whose religious opinions and rites the
 different systems of superstition which obtain
 in the abovementioned countries, in all pro-
 bability, were originally derived.—“ The
Buddha of the *Hindûs*,” says Sir WILLIAM
 JONES, “ was unquestionably the *Foe of*
China *, nor can we doubt that he was the
Wod or *Oden* of *Scandinavia*.” According
 to the *Puranas*, *Buddha* was the ancestor of
 that military tribe, whom the *Hindûs* deno-
 minate the *Children of the Moon*, or the ge-
 nius of the *planet Mercury*. He is said to
 have been the offspring of the nymph *Rohini*,
 by *Soma*, or the Moon; and to have mar-
 ried *Ila*, whose father was preserved in a
 miraculous ark from an universal deluge.
 This *Buddha* is celebrated in the poems of
Jayadêva, as the great reformer of the *Vedas*;
 and is supposed to have lived about two

* Vide Asiatick Researches, Vol. II. p. 376, where
 the *Hindû* account of the flood is fully explained.

thousand

thousand seven hundred years ago. His religion was imported into China, so late as the first century of the Christian æra. But at what time, or by what means it was received among the natives of Ceylon, our most diligent inquiries have hitherto been unable to ascertain. An endeavour to discover the channel through which the doctrines of *Buddha* were conveyed to Ceylon, might amuse a philosophick mind; but as such an investigation would necessarily occupy a considerable space, and as it could be productive of no essential benefit to the generality of readers, it were both ostentatious and useless to introduce it here.

The *Cingalese* believe *Buddha* to be endowed with the attributes of an all-wise and beneficent Deity, and to have descended from heaven to correct their wickedness and errors; and to purify and prepare their souls for a future state of eternal bliss. They, therefore, adore him as the great Author of their religion, and Saviour of their race; from whose favour they can alone hope to avert the vengeance of the Evil Deities who inhabit the infernal regions, or expect mercy
and

and salvation from the Supreme Creator and Governor of the Universe.—They believe in the transmigration of the soul, which they extend even to the inanimate creation, and they conceive that the Divine Spirit pervades the vast body of nature, and gives life to all sentient beings.

This exalted conception of an Eternal Mind, was the vital principle of the *Pythagorean* and *Platonic* philosophy, which is so well described in the sublime language of VIRGIL.

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, *Titaniaque* astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet *.

The *Cingalese* mode of worship is more simple than that of the followers of *Brâhma*, although they resemble each other in all their material parts. Polytheism is the ground-work of both; but the *Cingalese* comparatively pay devotion only to a few gods, though these

* *Vide Æneid*, L. 6. l. 724.

are to be found under different names in the Hindû mythology. The *Cingalese* worship images only as the symbols of their particular deities;—like all other Hindû tribes, they have no idol or representation of the Supreme God. To HIM they offer up their prayers and thanksgivings before the image of *Buddha*, in their pagodas or temples of publick worship, where these religious ceremonies are performed on particular occasions by the *Tirinanxes*, or the first class of the ecclesiastical order, but for the most part by *Gounis*, or the lowest order of priests. Before they begin their devotions, they perform their ablutions in the *tank*, or pond, that belongs to each pagoda, and which is either situated in the front, or in the centre of the building. These ponds are supposed to be filled with sacred water, and are therefore appropriated to the services of religion.

As the Brahmens worship the Ganges, so the *Cingalese* also worship the river *Mavelagon-ga*, already described, as an hallowed stream that can wash out the blackest crimes.

For

For the sun, but more particularly the moon, on account of the fable of the birth of *Buddha*, they profess the most devout reverence; and to the moon they offer up sacrifices, at their two annual festivals, which in point of time, as well as in many of the ceremonies, pretty nearly accord with the great Hindû festivals in June and November. But besides these two solemn festivals, the *Cingalese* have another still more magnificent than either, which is the anniversary of the ascent of *Buddha* to heaven. This last is held in March.

The *Cingalese* are represented by Mr. KNOX as not being zealous in the practice of their religious duties, and as having, in truth, no reverence for any of their gods but *Buddha*:—and he mentions one or two instances, in which he saw them even revile their inferior deities, and laugh at the superstitions of their own worship. It is, however, certain, that if they be less fervent, they are not less regular than the true *Hindûs*; and that if they ridicule their gods, their affected, but prophane pleasantries, is infinitely more superstitious, than the grave and sincere

bigotry of the Brahmens. Among all savage people, it is a common practice to revile their gods, and to deface their idols, when their most ardent adoration has not availed to quiet those *fears* which prompted them to perform it *, or to satisfy those *hopes* which “spring eternal in the human mind.” The impious absurdities of the *Cingalese*, therefore, are nothing more than a remnant of that barbarism which the doctrines of *Buddha* were destined to subdue.

Some time previous to Mr. KNOX’s imprisonment by the King of Candy, a man of considerable talents and intrepid courage had appeared among the *Cingalese*, called himself the Prophet of a new God, and pretended to be gifted with divine power. He is said to have gained many profelytes ; but the King at length dreading his civil ambition, rather

* —O adoration !

Art thou nought else but place, degree, and form,
Creating awe and fear in other men ?

Wherein thou art less happy, being feared,
Than they in fearing.—

What drinkest thou oft, instead of homage sweet,
But poison’d flattery ?—

SHAKESPEARE’S HENRY V.

than

than his spiritual influence, ordered him to be executed. The converts to his opinions, were doubtless, from the *Pariahs*, or outcasts; for there is no ground to suppose, that the religious system of an upstart prophet, could have made any lasting impression on the votaries of *Buddha*.

The civil government of the *Cingalese* is purely monarchical and despotick. But though their Kings be vested with absolute authority over the lives and properties of the people; their passions being disciplined by the forcible precepts and the wise restraints of a mild but awful religion, they have very seldom been guilty of that tyranny to which such extensive sway naturally conducts. In the time of Mr. KNOX, the throne of Candy was filled by an usurper, who was a bloody and relentless tyrant; but who, like all other usurpers, was probably obliged to support his power, by a continuance of that violence, oppression, and iniquity, through which he had acquired it; and who, had he been a lawful sovereign, might have reigned, like the other Kings of Ceylon,

Ceylon, in the hearts of his subjects, and according to the dictates of his faith.

The Kings of Candy are cloathed in all the state and splendour of other Asiatick princes:—but in their dress there is the peculiar distinction of a crown set with diamonds and pearls, and adorned with a plume of feathers, which is at once their ornament and boast, and which they flatter themselves no other monarch is *intitled to wear* !

The Sovereigns of Candy are enjoined by their religion, to make no alteration in the ancient laws of *Buddha*, but to govern their people in strict conformity to them; and though they may, at times, transgress their rules, they never wantonly and openly violate their principles.

The administration of justice is vested in the *Adigars*, or governors of provinces, who in civil authority are next to the King; but who, of course, hold their situations by no other tenure than his will; and who, if guilty of any acts of delinquency or oppression in their government, are amenable to the laws, and are tried, like all other capital offenders, before
the

the King in person, who passes sentence of death upon them, and orders it to be put into immediate execution in his own presence.

Next to the King in point of military rank, and to the *Adigars* in civil power, are the *Dissauvas*, or generals, who govern districts; for every province and district in the country has its governor. The subordinate military officers, under the *Dissauvas*, are the *Róteraus* and *Vindanées*, who command detachments of the King's army in different parts of the island, and who in fact govern the provinces and districts, as the *Adigars* and *Dissauvas* reside constantly at court; but whose particular duties are to see the revenues regularly levied, and to maintain due order throughout the kingdom. All these officers are appointed by the King. But the appointment of all the officers under them in the several departments, is left to their own choice.

In every village there is an inferior court of justice, for the purpose of taking cognizance of all complaints and differences, and with the power of punishing slight offences. From these courts there is an appeal to the
governors

governors of districts, and from them again to the *Adigars*, as chief justices of the kingdom.

The *Cingalese* are divided, according to the institutes of their law, into four distinct classes, which in all respects nearly correspond with those of the Hindûs. The first is the *Tirinanxes*, or sacerdotal class; the second is the *Hindrews*, or military class, to which the King and all the great officers of state belong; the third is the *inferior Hindrews*, or merchants and artizans; the fourth is the *Poddahs*, or servile class, to which husbandmen* and labourers belong. These four tribes never intermarry; but are subdivided into as great a variety of sects, as there are trades and professions. To the *Tirinanxes*, they all pay an equal reverence.

The *Tirinanxes* are in truth the *Brahmens* of the *Cingalese*; they are indued with the

* Husbandmen, in the Brahminical division of society, belong to the *Bhyse*, or third class of Hindûs. "The natural duty of the *Bhyse* is to cultivate the land, to tend the cattle, to buy and sell."—See the *Bbagvatgeetah*.—It is singular, that a people, like the *Cingalese*, with few manufactures, and little trade, should rate artizans above the cultivators of the land.

same sanctity, they possess the same immunities, they receive the same homage, they are supported by the same inflexible constancy, and are warmed with the same intrepid virtue, for which that devout and extraordinary race of men are peculiarly distinguished.

This *artificial* inequality in society, which the geometrical division of the people into separate tribes, has imposed, is carried by the civil polity of the *Cingalese*, to as great an extent, as the institutes of the Hindû law ordain it. Every class has its separate privileges and its appropriate laws. Unequal laws are indeed the most galling chains in which despotism can bind a people, and must to Englishmen, above all other men, appear an intolerable grievance; yet many millions in the eastern world, from not feeling the influence of those high passions, which purify, and ennoble, and sublimiate the grossness of our mortal nature, live, at least, contented under them, and according to their own measure of happiness.

The *Cingalese* have a digest, or code of written laws, which they say was composed by

by *Buddha*, and which the King keeps in his own possession, and will only permit his *Adigars*, or chief justices, to peruse. The common courts of judicature have not the advantage of knowing it, and are therefore intirely guided in their proceedings by prescriptive usages. Of these I can only present the reader with a few leading principles, as it would fill a volume to give a particular detail.

These ancient customs, or rules for civil conduct, though in many essential points extremely defective, protect every individual in his person and property. Yet there are peculiar privileges and advantages attached to one tribe above another. The King is the ostensible proprietor and lord paramount of all the land in his dominions. All property in land is consequently held by a grant from the King. The landed tenures of the *Cingalese*, as well as those of all other *Hindû* nations, are completely feudal. In their law of inheritance, their right of primogeniture is recognized, but not prescribed;—so that the father of a numerous family, although he has himself only a life interest

interest in his own estate, may divide it among his children; but as the law does not admit of any alienation of property, it remains for ever in the family. When the estate is left solely to the eldest son, he is obliged to support his mother, and his brothers and sisters, until they are able to provide for themselves.

Of the *Cingalese* law of marriage, so different from that of other Asiatick nations, I have already given an account; to which, however, it should be added, that when a woman is divorced, no man is permitted to marry her, until her former husband shall have married again.

With regard to civil justice, all causes are regularly tried, upon this principle,—that as all men should live in peace and amity with each other, no individual, however high his cast, or place in society, can be permitted to trespass on the rights of another, even of the lowest cast; but, that as the division of the people into tribes is *essential* to their well-being, it is *necessary* that offences should be estimated,—not by their *inherent culpability*, or their *pernicious effects*, but by the
rank

rank and condition of the offender. It is perfectly obvious, that a judicial process, conducted on a principle so erroneous, must often defeat its own purpose; notwithstanding all the care that may be taken in examining evidence, and in substantiating facts. And Justice, therefore, instead of preserving due order in the community, by protecting aggrieved innocence, and punishing convicted guilt, must too frequently be compelled to allow the grossest fraud to escape with the slightest penalty, and injured virtue to sue in vain for redress. But the placable dispositions of a mild and sensible people, correct the errors of their jurisprudence. Controversies and dissensions are very rare among them; and when they do take place, they seldom apply to the courts of justice for a formal trial, but solicit permission to determine the merits of their differences by *swearing in oil*. The *Purrekeh*, or trial by ordeal, has been known and practised, in all parts of India, from the remotest antiquity; and its infallibility in proving guilt or innocence, is still implicitly believed. Of this institute there are

are various modes. The one most in use by the *Cingalese*, is thus described by Mr. KNOX, who was an eye-witness to the process.—“Matters of great importance they are permitted to decide by *swearing in hot oil*. When they are to swear, each party has a licence from the governor of the district, written in his own hand. Then they go and wash their heads and bodies, which is a religious ceremony. And that night they are both confined prisoners in a house with a guard upon them, and a cloth tied over each of their right-hands, and sealed, lest they might use any charm to harden their fingers.”

“The next morning they are brought out; they then put on clean cloths, and purify themselves, reckoning they come into the presence of God. Then they tie to their wrists the *leaf* wherein the governor’s licence is, and repair under some * *Bogahah, God-tree*, and all the officers of the county assemble with a vast number of people besides. Cocoa-nuts are brought, and oil is there extracted

* A Banyan-tree.

“from

“ from them in the sight of the people, that
“ all may see there is no deceit. Also they
“ have a pan of *cow-dung* and water boiling
“ close by: the oil and cow-dung being
“ both boiling and thoroughly hot, they
“ take a young leaf of a cocoa-nut-tree, and
“ dip that into the oil that all may see it is
“ hot. For it singes and frizzles up, and
“ roars as if you poured water into hot
“ boiling oil. And so they do likewise to
“ the cow-dung. When all are satisfied
“ the oil is hot, the two men come and
“ stand on each side of this boiling oil; and
“ say, *The God of heaven and earth is wit-*
“ *ness, that I did not do this that I am ac-*
“ *cused of; or, The four sorts of gods be*
“ *witness, that this land in controversy is*
“ *mine.* And the other swears quite con-
“ trary. But first the *accuser* always
“ swears. The *accused* also relates his own
“ innocence, or his own right and title.
“ The cloths, that their hands were bound
“ up in, are taken off. And immediately
“ upon using the former words, he dips his
“ fingers into the hot oil, flinging it out
“ three times. And then goes to the boil-
“ ing

“ ing cow-dung, and does the same. And
 “ so does the other. Then they tie up their
 “ hands again with the cloth, and keep
 “ both of them prisoners till the next day,
 “ when their hands are looked upon, and
 “ their fingers ends rubbed with a cloth, to
 “ see if the skin come off. And from whose
 “ fingers the skin comes, he is forsworn.
 “ The penalty of which is a great forfeiture
 “ to the King, and great satisfaction to the
 “ adversary *.”

With respect to the administration of criminal justice, it is vested solely in the King; who is assisted by the *Adigars*, in defining the law, and in conducting trials. And although even the criminal law be founded on the absurd and abominable principle, of rating and punishing crimes according to the rank of the criminal, not by the enormity of his guilt; yet as the Candian monarchs have for the most part been sensible and benevolent men, their interests and feelings unite to render their *legal* decisions always lenient and mild to the indi-

* This account accords with the description given, in the *Mitacsherâ*, or comment on the *Dharmâ Sâstra*, of the Hindû trial by ordeal.

gent,

gent, and often impartial to the rich ; never inflicting the cruelties, authorized by the practice of tyrants, on culprits of the lower ranks, and seldom permitting delinquents, however high their cast, to escape *unreproved*. But the *Tirinanxes*, like the *Brahmens*, are exempt from capital punishments. Upon the whole, while it must be admitted, that the general principle of these laws is unjust, it can at the same time be confidently affirmed, that they are administered with moderation, and with strict attention to the interests of a people, who believing them to have been enacted by divine authority, look up to them with mysterious reverence.

The vernacular language of the *Gingalese*, has no apparent affinity to any of the dialects that are spoken on the continent of India ; but between their several idioms there is not any essential difference. That courtly phraseology, that strained hyperbole, and that constant recurrence of extravagant and mixed metaphors, which are in truth the characteristick features of all the languages of Asia, also distinguish and deform the *Chingulay*. This language, however, which in all

probability is derived from the *Sanscrêet*, and which we may now hope to trace to that fruitful source, has a few peculiarities; but upon the whole it bears a strong resemblance to the *Malay* * language, which, on account of its melody, has been justly and elegantly termed the "*Italian of the East*." The colloquial dialect of the *Chingulay*, is at once copious, energetick, and smooth; and its written or poetical style very harmonious and elegant.

The *Cingalese* are enthusiastick lovers of poetry and musick; and there are several allegorical ballads and songs in the *Chingulay* language, which breathe the most exalted sentiments, and which are no less popular from the genius of those who composed them, than they are beneficial by inspiring that pious love for the Supreme Creator, and that ardent charity towards men, which to use the language of the illustrious BARROW,

* Mr. MARSDEN, in a very ingenious and learned treatise on the traces of the Hindû language and literature, extant among the *Malays*, has very satisfactorily proved, "that the *Malayan* language is indebted to the "*Sanscrêet* for a considerable number of its terms."—Vide *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 4. p. 227.

“ doth rid us from all those gloomy, keen,
“ turbulent, imaginations and passions,
“ which cloud our mind, which fret our
“ heart, which discompose the frame of our
“ soul, from burning anger, from storming
“ contention, from gnawing envy, from
“ rankling spite, from racking suspicion,
“ from distracting ambition and avarice;
“ and consequently doth settle our mind in
“ an even temper, in a sedate humour, in
“ an harmonious order, in that pleasant state
“ of tranquillity, which naturally doth re-
“ sult from the voidance of irregular pas-
“ sions.”—

Besides these poems, there are others on a variety of subjects, that have been written many ages ago, in a dialect of the *Sanscrêet*, which the *Cingalese* call the language of *Buddha*, but which very few, even of their most learned *Tirinaxes*, or priests, fully understand. In this language all their books on religion, law, and physick, are composed; but of these books I have not yet been able to obtain any accurate account. No European, I believe, has ever seen them; but the same address and persua-

sion

sion that overcame the scrupulous and rigid secrecy of the *Brahmens*, will now, I trust, be successfully employed, at the court of Candy, in procuring copies of these ancient manuscripts.

The *Cingalese*, like all other *Hindû* nations, seem long since to have passed the meridian of their literature and science. The present generation are not only ignorant of that skill in astronomical calculations, for which their ancestors were celebrated, but also destitute of that knowledge in the elegant arts, which although they have still taste enough to admire, they want the genius to imitate.

In all the mechanick arts they are greatly inferior to their continental neighbours. They have few manufactures. They make a sufficient quantity of calico to supply the inhabitants of the island, but it is of a very indifferent quality. They make match-lock guns, and all kinds of iron and steel tools for the use of agriculture and house-building;—also all sorts of earthen-ware, goldsmith's work, painter's work, carved work, &c. &c. But in making iron from the different *calci-*

form ores, with which their mountains abound, they are particularly expert. With regard to the current money of Candy, it is in silver, and of three kinds. The first is what the *Cingalese* call the *Tangom Massa*, which was originally coined by the Portuguese, and is valued at about nine-pence sterling; the second is a small piece of silver of the shape of a fish-hook, which all descriptions of people are permitted to coin; and the third is a piece of silver of a larger size, called a *Ponnam*, which, as it is the King's money, coming it is a capital crime. As the *Cingalese* have not, for upwards of a century, had any foreign trade whatever, these small coins sufficiently answer all the purposes of their domestick traffick.

To conclude,—the *Cingalese* have in all ages chiefly subsisted by the peaceful labours of agriculture; and they undoubtedly possess much of that generous spirit, and many of those masculine virtues, which grow out of that condition of life. They are hospitable, frugal, sober, and brave; without any mixture of affectation, parsimony, coldness, or temerity. They are at once mild and
firm

firm in their general nature, and good-humoured and liberal in their particular dispositions. When the Portuguese landed on their island, they enjoyed the benefits of a pretty extensive commerce with the nations of the continent, and congratulated themselves on being protected by the sea, from the dreadful ravages and devastations, with which Mahomedan fanaticism and tyranny were at that time scourging those devoted countries. But the appearance of *Lawrence D'Almeida's* fleet and army afforded them a melancholy instance of the instability of human enjoyments. That coast on which no hostile fleet had ever anchored, those fields on which no hostile army had ever trod, those altars which no unhallowed hand had ever yet prophaned, were now to be insulted, laid waste, and destroyed. This storm blew for a while over the island with pitiless fury, and tore up every thing sacred by the roots. Yet the calm that succeeded it was ultimately productive of more extensive evils. For in that calm came the Dutch, under the specious pretext of generosity and friendship, to rescue them

them from their oppressors ; but who in a few years, supplanted the Portugueze in their oppressions, as well as in their territory, and who far surpassed them in cruelty and fraud.

Yet—

*Quid memorem infandas cædes ? Quid facta tyranni
Effera ? Di capiti ipsius generique reservent.*

I have thus endeavoured to draw a few general outlines of the character, manners, and institutions of the *Cingalese*; and although from the hurry in which they were executed, the performance is by no means satisfactory to my own taste,—yet, as I am confident it is a just representation of facts, as well as a faithful delineation of men, I am not without hopes of its being serviceable to the publick.

It remains just to notice the *Malabars* and *Mahommedans*, who form part of the inhabitants of Ceylon, and to say a few words on the general history of the island.

The *Malabars*, or as they are called in Ceylon, *Wannees*, inhabit the district of *Coylot*, in the northern part of the island.
They

They are a sect of Hindûs who emigrated many centuries ago from the coasts of the Indian peninsula; and who still speak a dialect of the *Malabar* language. They live under the government of a despotick *Rajah*, or prince, who is perfectly independent of the King of Candy; but from whom the Dutch, about the close of last century, demanded an annual tribute, which they ever afterwards continued to exact.

The *Choliars*, or *Mussulmen*, are a sect of Mahommedans of the line of *Hashêm*. They are the descendants of that race of people, who inhabited the sea-coasts of the island, at the time the Arabian voyagers first carried the doctrines of Mahommed across the Indian Ocean, and whom their pious industry very soon converted. They still inhabit the sea-coasts, and are the people, whom the Dutch chiefly employed in the cultivation of the cinnamon.

The early history of Ceylon, like that of all other countries in India, is involved in darkness; and the glimmerings which Hindû mythology occasionally reflect upon it, instead of guiding our conjectures, serve only

only to dim our sight. But all fables and traditions agree, that Ceylon has in all ages been inhabited, chiefly by a race of Hîndûs, who lived under the government of a King. With this part of its history, the Greek and Roman writers, who have been already mentioned, also accord. As to the tradition current among the *Cingalese*, which *Baldæus* seems implicitly to believe, that a Chinese vessel, having been shipwrecked on the eastern coast of the island, the captain and crew were not only received with the greatest hospitality, but were treated with the most extraordinary respect and confidence by the inhabitants, who, in a short time, *became so fond of the captain*, that they elected him as their King,—I cannot take upon me to contradict, but I am sure it were a waste of time to offer any observation upon it. And it ill became the good sense and gravity of *Baldæus*, to give this absurd tale to the world, as matter of history.

In the first century of the Christian æra, the Romans carried on an extensive trade with the western and southern parts of India.

dia. Every year a fleet of one hundred and twenty vessels sailed from *Myhos-hormos*, a port of Egypt, on the Red Sea, to the coast of *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. But I cannot agree with an illustrious and philosophick historian*, that the Roman fleets "traversed the ocean in about forty days;" because, it appears to me, from the reasons I have already given for discrediting *PLINY*'s account of the *Freed Slave*, that those slender barks were utterly incapable of traversing an ocean, which, during the months in which he says they sailed to India, is perpetually agitated by violent tempests, to say nothing of the improbability of vessels being navigated without a compass, in a wide extended ocean, where, at the time they are supposed to have sailed, not even a star is to be seen for many nights together. It is surely a much more reasonable conjecture, that those fleets performed their voyage in the north-east monsoon, when the sea is calm, and the sky clear, and sailed along the coast of *Arabia Felix* to

* *MR. GIBBON*.—See the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. I. p. 88.

Cape Rasalgat, whence passing the celebrated island of *Ormuz*, they stood across the mouth of the Persian Gulph, to *Cape Monze*, from which they steered, with the wind on their stern, to the north-west, along the coast of *Tatta*, and passing the mouths of the *Indus*, thence across the Gulph of *Cutch*, from the *Chegoo Muddi* islands, to *Point Jigat*, and along the coast of *Guzerat*, to the island of *Diu*,—thence again across the Gulph of *Cambay* to *Surat*, *Damaun*, and *Bombay*, and along the coast of *Malabar* to *Ceylon*. This circuitous, but safe passage, it would take them nearly four months to perform from *Myhos-hormos* to *Ceylon*. But, in returning, they must have taken a longer time; as they probably remained in some of the ports in the Gulph of *Manaar*, during the whole of the south-west monsoon, and sailed up the coast of *Malabar* in the north-east monsoon, by the help of the land and sea breezes. But whether this conjecture is better supported by circumstances, than Mr. GIBBON's statement, I shall leave my geographical readers to decide;—it is sufficient here, to have established the fact, of Roman fleets

fleets having sailed to Ceylon, for a considerable period, and the island having thereby "gradually become the principal mart of the east."—After the fall of the western empire, the Romans intirely relinquished their commerce with Ceylon. Some vessels, however, still continued to arrive yearly, from Egypt; and the *Arabs*, in the ninth century of our æra, appeared on the coasts of the island. They carried on a brisk trade with the *Cingalese*, for several hundred years, without a competitor. But in A. D. 1340, the Venetians concluded a treaty of commerce with the Soldans of Egypt, by a bull from the Pope, and they soon opened a commercial intercourse with Ceylon, which they conducted with the wisdom and vigour that distinguished their character; but which before the end of two centuries, the genius and discoveries of *Vasco de Gama* were destined to overthrow.

In A. D. 1505, the celebrated *Lawrence D'Almeyda* landed in Ceylon, with a considerable body of troops, and taking advantage of the civil commotions, which at that period shook the island to its centre, owing
to

to the enormities of a bloody tyrant who had usurped the throne of Candy, he joined the insurgents; and although he was unable to depose the usurper, he succeeded, after many severe battles, in establishing himself, and completely reduced under his subjection those districts which produce the best cinnamon.

The wars which followed *D'Almeida's* conquest, as well as the general policy of the Portuguese government in Ceylon, have already been noticed. These enterprising invaders soon engrossed the whole of the cinnamon trade, expelled the Arabs from the island, and fortified their principal settlements. Though their fortifications were not constructed in the most skilful manner, they were sufficiently strong to baffle the tactics of the *Cingalese*. And the Portuguese, lulled by the idea of security, neglected to provide against the approach of a more formidable enemy. In the year 1602, nearly a century after their establishment in the island, the Dutch General *Joris Spilbergen*, arrived at the King of Candy's court, on a special mission from the States General

of the United Provinces. This ambassador was so favourably received by the King, that the year following *Sebal De Weert* and *Kibraads van Warwick*, with a fleet of seven ships, arrived at *Batticola*, on the east coast of the island. But finding they had not a force adequate to the execution of their projects, they sailed to the Dutch settlement of *Acheen*, in the island of *Sumatra*, where they soon collected a sufficient number of troops, and returned to *Ceylon* in April 1603. *De Weert* was immediately invited to *Candy*, by the King, in order to consummate the treaty which they had previously negotiated. But the reception he met with disappointed his expectations, and ultimately frustrated the expedition in which he had embarked. The King publickly charged him with breach of faith, in having released some Portugueze prisoners, whom he had intrusted to his care. *De Weert* admitted the charge, and made the most ample apologies. But *Rajah Láarma Soree*, who was a sagacious statesman, as well as a valiant soldier, still remained dissatisfied and suspicious. And the Portugueze, by frequent messages, did not

not fail to feed his suspicions with all the artful insinuations which fear and malice could suggest. At length the apprehension of some hostile design on the part of the Dutchman, emboldened the enmity of the King, and he took an opportunity of openly insulting him, which, when *De Weert* warmly resented, he instantly caused his attendants to seize him. To this disgrace he refused to submit, and drew his sword in his defence, on which one of the courtiers gave him a stroke with a scimitar that laid him dead on the ground. This atrocious action filled the minds of the Dutch with a rancorous resentment, which afforded them some colour of pretext, for their subsequent conduct; but which their crafty prudence taught them to suppress, until their foul and nefarious plans were ripe for execution.

Soon after this event *Lâarma Sorce* died, and was succeeded on the throne of Candy, by a younger brother; who being a man of little understanding, and of a pliable disposition, was a fit instrument to forward the views of the Dutch. In the month of March 1612,

Marcellus

Marcellus de Boschhouwer arrived at Candy, with a letter from the Stadtholder, Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, to the King, assuring him of his friendship, and offering him his assistance against the Portugueze. This letter produced the desired effect; and on May 11th of the same year, *Marcellus* concluded a treaty of commerce and alliance, between *Cenuweirat Adaseyn*, King of Candy, and the States General of the United Provinces, in which his majesty granted leave to the Dutch to erect a fortress at *Cotiarum*, near *Trincomallée*. The Dutch lost no time in following up the advantages they had gained. They urged the King to declare war against the Portugueze; and having supplied his army with abundance of military stores, and a considerable train of artillery, he obtained a series of victories over their common enemy, and compelled him to sue for peace at the gates of *Columbo*. The Dutch fleet, having nearly at the same period, totally defeated that of the Portugueze off *Goa*, the King, as well as the people of Candy, were filled with sentiments of admiration and reverence for the skill and bravery of
their

their new friends. But that skill and bravery was soon to be turned against themselves.

Upon the death of *Adasfeyn*, in 1632, the succession to the crown was disputed by his three sons, whose mutual animosities and violence embroiled the kingdom in intestine dissensions. The Portuguese having by this time received ample supplies of men, and military stores, did not allow an opportunity so favourable for the recovery of their lost possessions, to escape them. They immediately took a decided part in the civil war, which continued to rage with increasing fury, and marched an army to the foot of the mountains of *Candy Uda*, against the reigning prince *Rajah Singah*, whose strength and influence had overpowered his brothers, and almost reduced them to subjection. On the approach of the Portuguese army, *Rajah Singah* formally solicited the assistance of the Dutch; who lost no time in granting a request which so fully met their own wishes. They sent a strong detachment of troops under an able commander to *Candy*; who arrived just in time to co-operate in the
King's

King's attack of the Portuguese, and to share the glory of the signal victory which followed. The Portuguese finding themselves unable to withstand the united forces of the *Dutch* and *Cingalese*, sued again for peace, which on account of his domestick feuds, the King was very well disposed to grant. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, contrary to the avowed desires of the Dutch, and on terms by no means disadvantageous to the Portuguese. The restless spirit and the artful machinations of the Hollanders, however, rendered it little more than a hollow truce. The King, confiding in the professions, as well as the superior prowess of the Dutch, and having an inveterate hatred to the Portuguese, easily yielded to the counsels of the former, and by an infraction of the treaty of peace, provoked the latter to renew hostilities. The Dutch had by this time assembled an army, fully adequate to crush their rivals; who, aware of the danger that awaited them, summed up all their spirit and vigour to meet it. But the robust and dauntless soldiers of Holland, were too powerful for the

utmost exertions of troops, debauched and enervated by wealth and luxury; and the Portuguese, within a few months, lost all their possessions except *Columbo*. To this place the Dutch laid siege, and the Portuguese, after an obstinate resistance of seven months, in which they displayed much of their ancient heroism, and often fought with almost incredible fury, being reduced to the last extremity, they were constrained to surrender, on condition of allowing themselves to be transported to Goa, and of resigning all their claims in Ceylon to the Dutch.

The Dutch had now, in effect, completed their original plan; but decency, as well as prudence, yet required them to preserve the semblance of good faith towards the King, and to perform some courteous ceremonies, before they finally threw off the mask. Hence they prevailed on the unsuspecting politicians of Candy, to conclude another treaty of amity and commerce, in which they stipulated with the King, for a grant of that part of the cinnamon country, which the Portuguese had possessed. But the Dutch having at length procured all they could expect
from

from the friendship, became desirous of trying what they could gain from the hostility of the *Cingalese*; and unrestrained by any sentiments of gratitude for that assistance and those favours which had established them in the island, they trampled in the dust all that is held sacred among nations; and after gradually and insidiously infringing the articles of the treaty, they passed the line of demarcation that it prescribed, and seized upon the whole of the cinnamon country, as far as the mountains of *Candy Uda*. This unprovoked and unprincipled aggression awakened the King of Candy from that peaceful slumber, in which he vainly imagined he might securely indulge; and it ultimately gave rise to all those cruel wars and atrocious proceedings which I have endeavoured to depict.

In the year 1674, a French fleet arrived in the bay of *Trincomallée**, on their passage to *Pondicherry*, under the command of *Monfieur de la Hay*, with an ambassador and his suite on board, deputed from

* *Vide* KNOX on Ceylon, p. 183.

Louis XIV. to the King of Candy. The King received this embassy with that hospitality and politeness which, even in the reigns of the most injudicious and tyrannical princes, have marked the character of his court. But the ambassador appears to have been totally destitute of that accommodating disposition, and diplomattick skill, for which his countrymen have, in all ages, been deservedly famed. He not only refused to comply with the customs and ceremonies of the country, but derided them as absurdities, and was imprudent enough to insult the King's ministers in the hall of audience, because the King was not there exactly at the appointed hour. His Majesty, justly incensed at his preposterous insolence, ordered him and his attendants to be clapped in chains, from which he did not release them for six months; when he gave them permission to depart his dominions. Three young gentlemen belonging to the ambassador's suite, having become attached to the country, were, at their own earnest solicitation, allowed to remain in the city of Candy, and at the time Mr. KNOX left it, they were

were engaged in various occupations. They married, and had children; but their progeny is now extinct.

In 1766, during the last, and to the *Cingalese*, the most fatal war, the Dutch ever waged against them, Mr. PYBUS arrived at the court of Candy, on a mission from the British government of Madras. He was instructed to assure the King of the friendship of the English, now the most potent European power in the east, and to offer him ample succours to support the war with the Dutch. Of the glaring injustice and impolicy of this embassy, at a period when England and Holland were not only in perfect peace, but in strict alliance, it were unnecessary to make any comment; since the ignorance and folly with which it was conducted, defeated its object, and thereby averted the evils that must have followed its success.

This embassy, together with the misrepresentations of the Dutch, had given the court of Candy a very unfavourable impression of the justice and policy of the English. And it was with a view to do away the odium which

which had, through these means, been affixed to our general character, as well as to announce to the King of Candy, that we were at war with the implacable enemy and incessant disturber of his country, and to secure his friendly disposition, at least, if not his active aid, in our intended attack of the Dutch territories in Ceylon, that Mr. BOYD was, in February 1782, deputed by his Excellency Lord MACARTNEY, then Governor of Madras, to the court of Candy.

Mr. BOYD accompanied from Madras the expedition under the command of Admiral Sir EDWARD HUGHES, which was destined for the reduction of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon; and after the surrender of *Trincomallée* to the British arms, Mr. BOYD set out from that place, by an unusual and difficult route to Candy. The firmness, perseverance, and ability, with which he surmounted the various obstacles that impeded his journey; and the acuteness, promptitude, and dispatch with which he conducted his negotiation, the following JOURNAL very fully and clearly manifests.

And

And although he could not prevail on the King of Candy to enter into a treaty of alliance with the British government, he nevertheless succeeded in the principal object of his mission, that of removing the slur that had been cast upon the character of the English, and of convincing the court of Candy, of their humanity, liberality, and good faith. For the friendly conduct of the King of Candy towards Major General STEWART, after the capitulation of *Trincomallée*, in 1795, when contrasted with his behaviour to Sir EDWARD HUGHES, in refusing to supply him with any provisions whatever, very satisfactorily proves, the favourable opinion he had formed of the English, from the admirable address and conciliating manners of Mr. BOYD.

The Letter that is annexed to the Journal of the Embassy, gives an account of Mr. BOYD's imprisonment at the *Isle of France* and *Bourbon*, together with some particulars of these islands. And the letters in the Appendix are explanatory of one or two facts referred to in the Journal and the
Letter

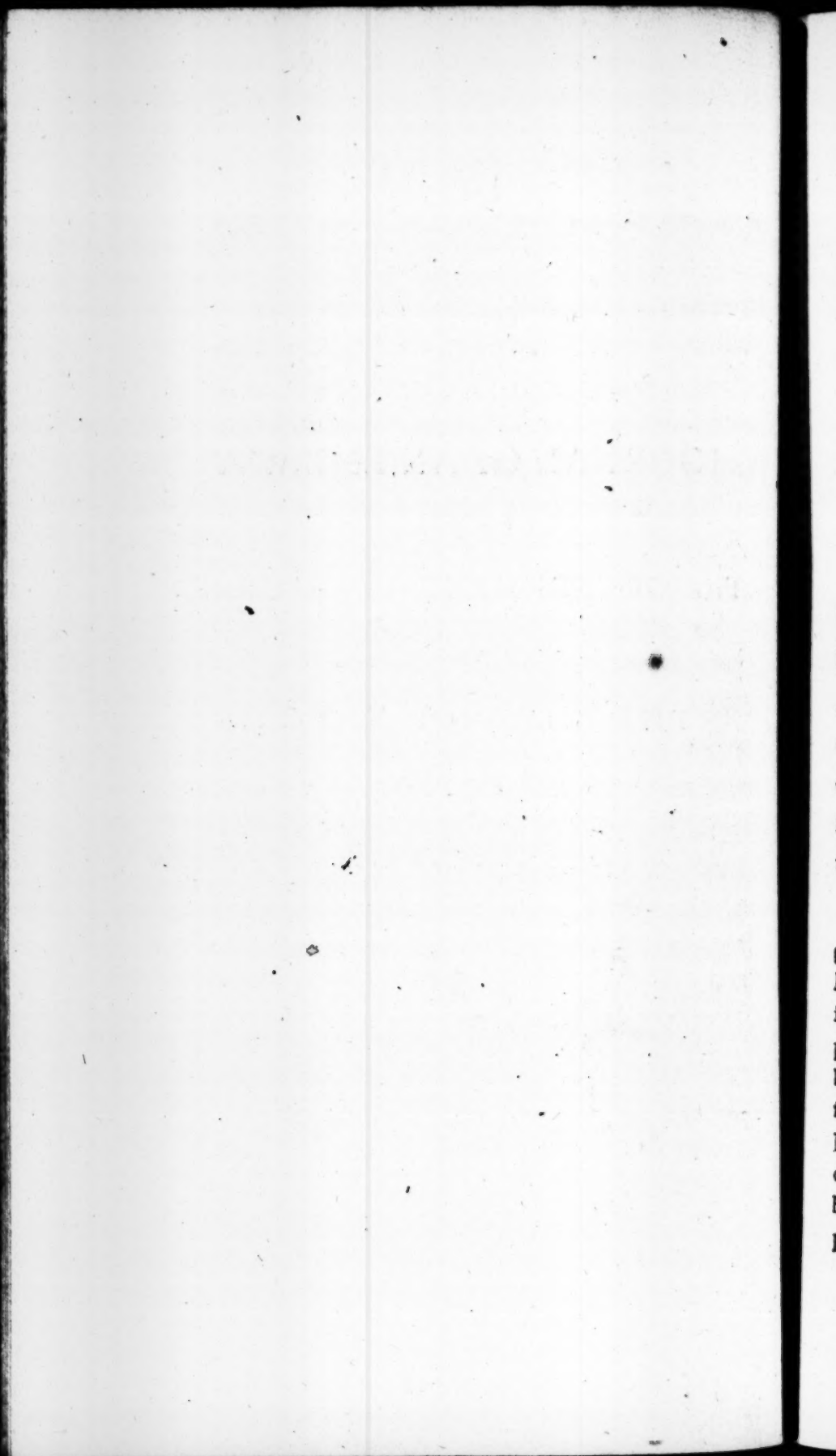
Letter from *Bourbon*, and will, I hope, be found entertaining.

This Preface has grown to a greater size than I originally intended. But as it contains some interesting information, and illustrates the history of a very celebrated, but little known country, I trust the reader will have the patience to peruse it.

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A
JOURNAL OF AN EMBASSY
FROM
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS,
TO
THE KING OF CANDY,
IN Ceylon,
IN THE YEAR 1782.

NAL



A JOURNAL, &c.

From *Trincomallée* to *Copputtorey*.

(NINE MILES.)

ON the 5th February 1782, at half an hour past seven A. M. left *Trincomallée* *. At nine stopped at a very beautiful inlet of the sea, rendezvoused, and breakfasted on cheese and biscuit, the cook having marched on with the cold fowl. Before we proceeded, lost one cooley, who found

* Our whole number 173, 63 of whom were a fine grenadier company of sepoy, under the command of Ensign CHERECH. We had three palankeens, for myself, Mr. CHERECH, and PERMAUL, my debarth and principal interpreter, and a dooley for Moss, my writer: besides servants and attendants of all denominations, for shew and use, and cooleys for the baggage and presents. For the heavier part, tents, &c. Capt. BONNEVAUX, commandant at *Trincomallée*, accommodated us with eight bullocks: as indeed he did with every thing in his power.

opportunity

opportunity to escape into the woods. At twenty minutes past ten got into motion again. The road more woody and difficult for the palankeens; and water up to a man's middle in one or two places, particularly *Copputtorey* river, running near a little hamlet of that name. We were obliged to halt before we crossed, near half an hour, to clear the way among the trees, and to send over the bullock-loads by men, lest they should again throw them, as they had before, in a rivulet we had passed. At half past one, halted at *Copputtorey*; a few little huts, twelve or fourteen, among the trees; neat and cleanly enough: with a tank*. To prevent, or at least to mitigate, any alarm, kept all our people strictly from entering the hamlet, only a messenger whom we sent to request the head-inhabitant to come and speak with us. But he and the

* Some of the inhabitants manufacture a coarse kind of cloth: partly sent to *Trincomallée*, and into the country, and partly collected from them by the King's peon, sent throughout the country from Candy.—The people here, do not, as in the Carnatic, pay to government any share of their crops.

others

others were gone to the paddy-fields *, and partly, I believe, through some preconceived alarm; except one man, who came immediately, and was very willing to accommodate us. All we wanted were pots for the palankeen boys and cooleys to boil rice, and he supplied all he had †. Reviewed and harangued the cooleys. All safe and seemingly satisfied; in the course of the evening a few more of the inhabitants appeared; halted all night ‡.

From Copputtorey to Tumbela-Caumum.

(SIX MILES.)

FEBRUARY 6th. From delay of tents and loading, the bullocks did not move till

* This was the common pretext for their absence on similar occasions, as I marched into the country, when I found my present suspicion too well founded.

† He would take no money, and said, "Our favour was more to him than 1000 rupees."

‡ No hut or appearance of inhabitant since we left the suburbs and environs of *Trincomallée*.

half

half past seven. About eight arrived at a river, pretty deep in the channel; which, as before, cost us considerable time in crossing. A fine river; but the water salt. The people here have no idea of distances. They told us, *Tumbela-Caumum* was ten miles from *Copputtorey*. We found it from certain calculation of our time, not more at most than fix.

I had heard that some persons were here, sent lately from the King. I was doubly careful, therefore, in the stile of our approach, and the prohibition of entering the village; which I had also heard, was of some respect and consequence. On our approach, we had the agreeable omen of the inhabitants coming forward to receive us. They did so with much civility, and returned with us to a very fine plain, close to the village. After conversing with them here some time, seated in my chair, which, according to the customary compliment of the country, they had covered with white cloth, the principal person of those I had heard of, came forth to pay his respects, with the affectation, rather than the reality, of some pomp and attendance,

attendance. He was a *Munnygar*, as called on the coast; here * *Veraumy*.

After a few compliments of course, I inquiring the health of the King, and he mine, he observed it was to be expected that his master should be well, situated at ease and plenty in his palace, but that it might be apprehended the English should be otherwise, having had the fatigues of coming so far in ships, and afterwards of fighting and conquering the Dutch. I told him our ships were so large and powerful, that we lived as well and as happily at sea as on land; and that we were so much stronger than our enemies, that the conquest of them gave us no trouble.

He told me that the King, hearing of my coming, had appointed the general of this district, *Mauthela* district, including *Trincomallée*, *Cottiar*, &c. to come down and receive me; and that he himself was sent forward to prepare the roads and accommodations for him for that purpose:—that he did not know till the preceding evening of my

* *Veraumy*, or, as KNOX spells it, *Vidaumy*, the general of a district,

coming

coming on so soon, or he would have been better provided for our reception: that he had great desire, but little power, to accommodate us in these parts, oppressed as they had been under the Dutch; but that we should have whatever we wanted, and they could supply. He sent us afterwards some fine fowls and fish, cocoa-nuts, and a little rice, which it seems is a scarce commodity here, but * natchenny in plenty. I thanked him, and assured him of the friendship of the English to the King and people of the country. On telling him, in reply to his observation of this part of the country being only the root of the tree which bore no fruit itself, but made the branches produce; that the English were famous for being excellent gardeners; and that on this occasion they would be very happy to shew their friendly skill, and make this great tree flourish. He said it was necessary to surround valuable trees and fruits with *hedges* and *defences*: and for *so-much care as that*

* A grain that grows in the Carnatic and Ceylon.

they

they would be very happy in the friendship of the English*.

Much time was taken up in the ceremonies and double translation of our conversation, from his *Cingalese*, through *Malabar*, to *English*, by my two debashees; but well employed in what thus appeared authentick information of the ground being sufficiently firm and favourable.

Another essential consideration contributed to detain us; the want of rice and paddy for the sepoys and cooleys. We obtained some, however, with much difficulty.

Pitched one tent on the plain, and halted all night.—The road hither was much better

* He entered into some particulars of the present and former state of this town of *Tumbela-Caumum*, which is large, and has some good stone buildings; but much less populous and flourishing since the exactions of the Dutch residents there for fourteen or fifteen years past. The staple of the place had been cattle, for which its extensive pasturage seems very well calculated. He gave me some information too, not very faithful, as I afterwards discovered, of the politicks of the court, the Dutch, &c. all in the most figurative stile, with some agreeable turns and compliments.

and pleasanter than yesterday's, through lawns and openings ; and as we approached *Tumbela-Caumum*, saw considerable numbers of oxen, fifty or sixty in a herd.

From *Tumbela-Caumum* to *Tertolay*.

(SIXTEEN MILES.)

FEBRUARY 17.—Did not set out till seven, A. M. being detained by another conference, with another messenger, from Candy, who had arrived late the preceding evening. He was an envoy from the King ; had left Candy nine days before, he told me, and was sent forwards to prepare accommodations, &c. as the other had said ; with whom his account agreed ; assuring me, expressly, in addition, that as the late King had always been most friendly inclined to the English, and desirous of cultivating their friendship, so his present High-

ness was possessed of the same sentiments and disposition *.

He made much apology for the want of accommodation we should experience on the road, from our proceeding sooner than he expected, and the difficulty of it for our palankeens; as there had not been time to clear it: but that as he was immediately returning to notify our approach, he would give directions as he went for as much accommodation as could be prepared.

This we found very little indeed, both on the journey of to-day, and at the end of it. Tolerably good path-ways, but the woods all the way very close and low over them: which, with some rough and steep rocky

* On this topick he recommended what appeared an extraordinary caution to me, that I should not believe what the people of the country as I advanced might say; for they were great liars, and might endeavour to insinuate improper impressions of *enmity* or *indisposition*, where friendship only existed.—I told him, that as I was conscious of the most friendly disposition of the English to the King and his subjects, as my commission from the high authority I came from would testify; so I confided in the same amicable sentiments on the part of his Highness.

passages, made it necessary often to alight from the palankeens.

We halted after about eight miles, half way to *Tertolay*, where there was some water for the sepoy, (the cooleys had marched on before us) and breakfasted heartily on cold fowl *, seasoned with some excellent salt-beef we had got from the Admiral, and washed down with what Mr. CHERCH's palankeen-bearers had left him of a bottle of aniseed, to improve the water, which wanted it much. Before three we arrived and pitched our tents on the borders of *Tertolay-lake*, within about a quarter of a mile of the village; a very extensive and beautiful expanse of water, finely skirted with rising woods. As the chief peon, with whom I had conferred in the morning, had promised to prepare whatever accommodation could be ready for us, I sent forward my two

* Our lame cook, who carried it, this morning saw a tiger; the drummer was ordered to strike up; and the woods of Ceylon, for the first time, heard the grenadier's march.

messengers

messengers * with the more confidence, to notify our arrival to the head-inhabitant of the village.

The delay of my two messengers, who did not return for an hour and a half, surprised me; but I was still more so, when they did return, with two men, the only persons visible in the place! This desertion, seemingly at our approach, was not encouraging: our two visitors, however, accounted for it by telling us, the inhabitants were gone to their paddy-fields. The place, at best, is very small and poor; and their account might be true: considering, especially, the quality of our two hosts; one, the head-inhabitant; and the other, a man of the village, expressly ordered by the chief peon as he passed through, to procure us what we wanted, and could be ready.—This intelligence, implying the will at least, qualified the apparent coolness of our reception,

* MAHOMMED COSSIM, a very intelligent man, whom I had engaged on the coast, was lately cutwal at *Carrical*, but had formerly traded to Candy, and was very respectably acquainted there; and spoke *Cingalese*, the language of the country. The other, a very decent old man, who came on with us from *Tumbela-Caumum*.

and

and scantiness of our fare, for they had brought us only one fowl, plantains not ripe, and a dozen rotten eggs.

On the whole I remained in some doubt on this alternative, whether the court, not contemplating my immediate advance, had not prepared the peon with sufficient authority, though he desired to appear, for personal consequence, perhaps, or for political reasons, to have it; or whether there were really the disposition at Candy in our favour, that was pretended. But, considering on the whole, the *Munnygar's* friendly conduct and communication, and this morning's assurances from the chief peon, of the King, still more express; and concluding, that the only alternative on the supposition of fraud, is highly improbable; either that the King should practise a treachery so gross, or that these slaves of their master should attempt it without his sanction, I determined, without appearance of diffidence or delay, to proceed to-morrow *.

From

* I must do justice to Mr. CHERECH's judgment on this occasion, as on many others in our expedition. He suspected

From *Tertolay* to *Permaumadoo*.

(TEN MILES.)

FEBRUARY 8th.—Very long detained this morning in consequence of the heavy rain that fell last night, and wetted the tents so much, that we were obliged to wait for their drying and becoming portable again to the bullocks, till near one o'clock in the afternoon.

We then set out, and after halting about half way near an hour, at our constant cold fowl mels, arrived about six at *Permaumadoo*. The road more and more difficult, both from the closeness of the woods, and sudden steepnesses. After walking more to-day than I had done for a considerable time, and quitting my palankeen, the * pinjaree of which it was necessary to take off, I made a very

pected strongly their dispositions towards us:—and it must be confessed, the alluring air of their promises, and then the breach of them, the miserable want of provisions, the nature of the country, &c. &c. seemed to furnish ground of apprehension.

* The top of the palankeen.

advantageous

advantageous change into the dooley of Moss, my writer. We crossed two or three streams as we advanced, that flow from *Tertolay-lake*; one a little on this side of the village, pretty large, and running over rocks. The lake opened now and then on our right-hand as we advanced, very beautifully, to various prospects of retiring woods and hills. About two miles from where we set out, we saw grazing on its borders a vast number of wild buffaloes, not less, I believe, than two or three hundred; but which, probably, do not venture too near the alligators that abound in the lake.

As we approached close to *Permaumadoo*, we were glad to see some fine paddy-ground; our rice being very nearly exhausted: and as we had been apprised this was a plentiful little place, we relied here on the accommodating offices of our precursor the peon, and advanced with as much alacrity as fatigue permitted, to the encampment-ground, our preceding messengers had taken for us.

But that was all they had been able to do; for to our great mortification, we found
this

this scene more desolate than the former: exactly, in fact, what has been so finely pictured in poetry, "*a Deserted Village*."—

"All but yon widow'd solitary thing,
"That feebly bends beside the plashy spring."

This was precisely the state of *Permaumadoo*. There was only *one old woman* to be seen. But she was neither so communicative, nor authentick, as GOLDSMITH'S "sad historian of the pensive plain." All the account she would give of the absence of the inhabitants, was the stale pretext of the paddy-grounds.

Our situation was now very unpleasant, and choice of conduct not easy. In the first place, all possible care was taken to prevent our people going into the village; which, though empty of people, was full of provision: great store of paddy; and the doors of the houses open. But politically circumstanced as we were, doubts of the country's disposition and intention increasing with our advances into it, the greatest caution in our conduct became more and more necessary. Not a single person, even as before in point
of

of compliment, appearing on the part of the peon, of whom the old woman either knew, or pretended to know, nothing :— this too, the first village we had come to, fully under the King, (for the Dutch incroachments, as considered at Candy, had extended to *Tertolay*;) our increasing disappointment on this ground was, therefore, the more seriously discouraging, and our advance into such a country the more dangerous.

Two things were necessary, *supply* and *intelligence*. But I resolved to protract, as long as possible, the unpleasant necessity, which might afterwards afford pretext for resentment, of taking the former; and contrived, with some rice which luckily my debash had a good stock of for his own people, to satisfy the sepoys and the rest of our party this night, without invading the property of *Permaumadoo*; in hopes, possibly, of some favourable appearance of the inhabitants in the morning. As the best means towards intelligence, I determined to send some of my confidential people, under sanction of a letter to the King, notifying to him in
point

point of compliment, and with all appearance of unsuspicious friendship, my advance so far.—Besides, I was desirous of having an opportunity of stating, formally, though in appearance, cursorily, the assurances I had received, in my conferences at *Tumbela-Caumum*, with his people immediately coming from his Durbar, his veraundy, and chief peon.

As my messengers proceeded, MAHOMMED COSSIM, who set out with them, was to send me back all the observation he could collect at *Pulian-Caravery*, the next village, about nine miles distance, or further on, if he found it necessary to proceed a little; of every symptom he could collect of the disposition, both of the country and the court, especially if he could ascertain whether the disappearance of the inhabitants proceeded merely from their own fears, or any political cause or authority.

Others were sent to go on with the bearer of my letter, (one of my chubdars) to report to me any thing that might occur of consequence as they advanced; especially relative to the general, whose friendly appointment

pointment and approach were so expressly announced to me.

I finished my letter to the King, and memorandums to MAHOMMED, which PERMAUL translated early the next morning, and the reconnoitring party I dispatched with all speed. We then proceeded, or laid by, as new circumstances, or proper caution required, from the old ones, with due leisure and circumspection.

From *Permaumadoo* to *Pulian-Caravery*.

(TEN MILES.)

FEBRUARY 9th.—More rain, which detained us very long, but luckily, this morning, as by it I had the following interview and particulars. A man came to my tent, and gave me a letter addressed "*A Monsieur Monsieur, le Commandant General des Forces Angloises, a Trincomallée,*" when he

he told me he brought it from the Governor of *Columbo*, and shewed me two or three other letters, and one directed to HOMOET, late governor of *Trincomallée*, I made no ceremony with the wax of the latter, or my friend BONNEVAUX's. But one was only on private affairs, and the other a recommendation to humanity, very properly and respectfully urged, of the Dutch prisoners. I inclosed them, and took this opportunity of again * writing to Capt. BONNEVAUX, by the *Columbo* messenger, whom I sent on after learning from him the following information: that he had, the day before, been met and brought back by the chief peon I had spoken with, who examined and treated him very roughly, suspecting that he came from *Columbo*, or some of the Dutch settlements. The man, however, persisted that he was only a trader, and found means to conceal his letters. He told him he had left *Columbo* seventeen days ago,

* I had written to him our good news, as it appeared, from *Tumbela-Caumum*; to relieve the great apprehension he was under of our meeting insuperable difficulties, if not hostilities.

had

had come by *Negombo*, and then cross the country through the woods. On my inquiring about the Candian ambassador, who had been at *Columbo* to notify the late King's death, he told me, that he had staid there only three days, and had come away as soon as the news arrived there of the English taking *Trincomallée*, a day or two only before he left it. But his most immediate important intelligence, was of the chief peon, who had in *his hearing* remonstrated with the two or three persons that met him here and entertained him, and one of them the head inhabitant, against their deserting the village; telling them how well we conducted ourselves, and treated the people; and desiring them to remain, and accommodate us as well as in their power.

This corresponded with the hope that occurred to me at *Tertolay*, of the peon's inclination being greater than his authority, and we were the more induced to attribute the people's absence merely to their fears, from the information I at last extracted from the old woman. She said, the men had been almost all gone five or six days, a few

few only coming backwards and forwards—as those yesterday, who she now told us, as the *Columbo* man had received the peon; but she could not confirm the important remainder of his intelligence, as to his directions in our favour. She said, the women and children went the preceding day, and would have persuaded her to go also; but that being infirm, and relying perhaps on the sanctity of her wrinkles, she had remained. I praised her good sense; and endeavoured to convince her too, how much wiser she was than her neighbours, by presenting her with two star pagodas; the first, probably, she had ever seen, or certainly had ever been mistress of.

Consideration of these particulars so apparently favourable, especially the *Columbo* man's report, saved the paddy of *Permaumadoo*; as I thought myself now more justified in venturing to proceed, and finding that we could do so to another larger village, called *Pulian-Caravery*, where MAHOMMED* assured us we should have plenty

* He was not yet set out on the reconnoitring party; but founded his opinion, on this occasion, on what he had

plenty of provisions. We flattered ourselves too, that in addition to the peon's recommendation to the people, they must have heard through the country of our good conduct, and be the more induced to receive us; and that possibly the fame, even of my golden offering to the sybil of *Permaumadoo*, might have been wasted before us, and served, in some degree, to propitiate the *swaumies* of Ceylon.

Protracting, therefore, on the principle already stated, the *taking* of any *supply*, to the last possible moment; and the *political* necessity of intelligence towards our advance appearing now not so strong, I determined to go on, assured thus of provision at *Pulian-Caravery*, and to detain my letter and messengers, to be dispatched thence according to circumstances. At about half past twelve, therefore, we set out, and after a short halt as usual, at the sign of the cold fowl! (which, by the bye, had been a little too much in the sun,) arrived at a little past five at *Pulian-Caravery*; or rather close to

had seen there a few weeks before, when he went up from *Trincomallée* with my first letter to the King.

it,

it, for we adhered strictly to our rule of not entering a village.

We might, however, have dispensed with it here; for there was nothing to alarm us, but empty huts: not even an old woman to present two pagodas to!

This anticlimax of reception ever since *Tumbela-Caumum*, and in proportion as we advanced into so strange and strong a country, was very unpleasant. We wondered that the people's fear should not have subsided; or that the chief peon's remonstrances, if sincere, should be still unsuccessful. No trace or report of him; not a single person even to pretend an apology! though easier in this village, it would seem, to have prevailed on some to remain, as it is much larger than the former: twenty or thirty houses, such as they are.—Doubts returned and encreased, about the peon's sincerity, and consequently the disposition of Candy; and our two old wants of *supply* and *intelligence*, pressed more and more strongly on us.

Mr. CHERECH, with the caution of an old soldier, and a very proper solicitude for

those under his command, was very apprehensive on both grounds. As to the former, however, our reconnoitring party brought us intelligence, that there were many store places for paddy well covered up, and plenty of natchenny in the houses. For the latter I dispatched MAHOMMED COSSIM, and the Candy party, with my letter to the King, early next morning.

Our road to-day rather more open than hitherto; but very deep and heavy in some places, especially near the end of our stage. A general appearance of want of industry through the country; easily accounted for, where there is no encouragement to labour, for that is a virtue, which beyond the supply of necessaries, is not its own reward. But though agriculture be neglected or ill pursued, and their huts ill and clumsily constructed, the people seem rather indolent than poor. They are easily supplied by their sun, soil, and rains, with more than they can consume.

Some very romantick views relieved the way as we passed along. But in general, the whole course of the road resembles very much

much the gravelled ways through the groves common in the grounds about our great houses in England. These gravel-walks are rather rougher, it must be confessed, both under foot, and on each side; but if we had travelled as men of taste instead of business, unvexed by what we then considered as interruptions, we should, on the contrary, have admired the sudden rock, or fallen tree majestic in ruin; the venerable victim of ages; or recently, perhaps, before we passed, prostrated athwart the little path of men, by the resistless bulk of the lord of the forest; whose sublime magnitude, bearing down all obstacle before him, and on every side, is really awful in its effects. I have not yet been fortunate enough to see this *land leviathan*, whose wildness must indeed be sublime; but I have stopped to contemplate the length and breadth of his footsteps across the way. *Ex pede elephantem.*

At Pulian-Caravery.

FEBRUARY 10th. — After dispatching my letter to the King, and giving particular instructions to the messengers, especially enjoining MAHOMMED to write back exact intelligence on some specific points which I gave him in writing (and this he was to do by day-break the next day, so that we might receive his letter in the morning, if his intelligence should be favourable), we attended to our other essential care of provisions, but to our exceeding disappointment, we found that there was no rice. The store-places, which were so carefully covered up, we found most thoroughly unpacked; and not a pad of paddy remaining. No alternative but natchenny; which, besides being a very inferior and much less wholesome food, has another material inconvenience, delay; first, in beating it out, and then in grinding it into flour. An inconvenience increased by the obstinacy of the cooleys and palankeen-boys, who refused to work, and said they would rather starve:—mine especially, who
were

were the most insolent set of knaves I ever saw: affecting high superiority over the country bearers that came from *Trincomallée*, though themselves are almost *outcasts* on the coast, *pariars* from *Negapatam*: exacting, by the bye, an extraordinary price, for what must indeed be acknowledged an extra kind of service. I am glad to bear, on the contrary, the most favourable testimony to the conduct of our sepoy, under the strict and able care of Mr. CHERECH; equally patient under their hunger and fatigue, and active in every labour of loading and drawing the bullocks, guarding and assisting the cooleys, pitching the tents, &c. &c.

We borrowed a fowl from one of the sepoy, who had purchased it from the fowl-cooley* at *Tertolay*, and curried it with the last plate of rice to be had. The natchenny business, though now the sole resource of the people, went on very reluctantly, and with much objection, from the apprehension of its making them sick.

* A fellow who had fallen in with the sepoy there, with eight or ten fowls on his head; they purchased his stock, and he consented to join our cooley-corps.

At

At *Pulian-Caravery*.

FEBRUARY 11th.—The apprehension of sickness among our people, last night, was too well founded; of which we had this morning the unwelcome proof, in the illness of some of the sepoys, and the servants and attendants. The mischief, however, had no resource; of which the people were conscious, and behaved very well, especially the military. Mr. CHERECH managed them with equal care and kindness; as the rapid ebb of his arrack bottle testified.

Our anxiety grew the greater to hear from MAHOMMED, the disposition and ability of the next village, as to people and provisions, as well as any general intelligence he might be able to send of the country. Without some favourable intelligence on these heads, I determined, or rather would be determined, by the necessity of such a situation, to send back a party to *Permaumadoo*, to negotiate with (now, I hope) our friends there for the paddy, which our delicacy, too scrupulous, perhaps,

haps, had spared. But this, I hoped, for obvious reasons, would not be necessary.

Three o'clock in the afternoon brought no tidings from MAHOMMED! though we had expected them at breakfast. We sat down "with what appetite we may," to a little land turtle, two of which a sepoy caught this morning; but one was of a kind not fit for use. This was luckily very good; and our cooks, both the lame one, and a young assistant that I had obtained for him, performed very well.

Another hour without news, added, in proportion, to our anxiety; which was now, however, agreeably relieved in a considerable measure, by two visitors, who arrived a little after four o'clock. They told me, they were sent from *Noatchy-wettay**, by the chief peon, who they had left there the morning of the 10th, to meet me, and let me know, he had given all possible directions for our accommodation, and for the clearing of the roads, with apologies for the great want of it, &c.; that the peon was proceeding as fast as he could to Candy, to

* A village about thirty miles further.

notify

notify our approach, and that every thing would be prepared for us in the best manner the shortness of the time admitted; especially on my examining them strictly as to rice at the next stage, they assured me we should find it; though perhaps at a dear price, as it had been scarce.

All this intelligence, and even the compliment of sending it, was obviously extremely encouraging; and could not easily be suspected to be a system of finesse, so deeply laid from the beginning to intrap us into distress. But it is nevertheless true, I had yet received nothing direct or written from *authority*. The general, who I forgot to mention, these men said, had not, as they knew, left Candy, might, I think, have heard of us, and sent more authentically. But that, perhaps, was apprehended, would be committing the court too particularly; and the verbal reports of all these underlings might be denied by themselves, or disavowed by their masters. I did not forget, though I seemed to forgive, the rejection of my letter to the King. Of the success or state of my second attempt towards the correspondence,

spondence, I yet knew nothing, though eleven days had elapsed, since my messenger left *Trincomallée*, and since which I advanced almost half-way to Candy. I continued, therefore, to wish anxiously for MAHOMMED's intelligence. A little before five, arrived a letter from MAHOMMED COSSIM. He wrote to PERMAUL, that on the preceding evening, he found *Minary*, the next little village to us, though not directly in the way, about sixteen or seventeen miles, *entirely deserted*. That he then went on three or four miles further, and met this morning with some of the people in the next, (*Wishtegall*) and in the woods; that he had explained particulars to them to return and remain; as it was merely from their fears of what they had heard of an *English army* being advancing, that they had removed. As to rice, *he did not know that he could obtain any*, but would endeavour by all means, if any could be procured.

This information a little damped our hopes. It represented supply as at least uncertain, if not unlikely. Mr. CHERECH's solicitude for his men, was so much increased, that he
leaned

leaned strongly to the resource of sending back to *Permaumadoo*; and the political appearance, as to our safety in advancing, struck him as very problematical. On that head, however, I thought MAHOMMED's letter concurred rather favourably with the other proofs, that all this disappearance was from the timidity of the people; and as so much time had already been lost, and as even the *Permaumadoo* resource would be very tedious, I determined to go on as expeditiously as possible. Going back would expose our distress, and possibly, after all, without relieving it. Delay might essentially defeat the object of my mission. I therefore gave orders to *beat the general*, an hour before day-break next morning.

From

From *Pulian-Caravery* to *Wishtegall*.

FEBRUARY 12th.—So much delay in loading bullocks and cooleys, that we did not move till half past six. I walked the first hour and a half through the lowest and closest woods we had yet encountered. Halted and breakfasted at half past nine, in the almost-dry channel of a river, prettily skirted with woods, which, in the wet season, must, from the appearance of its sand and banks, be rapid and deep. In about an hour set forward. The road much better, and the country more open, and we made more than usual progress. But the sun was intensely hot, and without my pinjeree, which I have been obliged to keep dismounted, I felt its full influence.

After two hours and a half's march from breakfast, at a very good pace, bullocks and some of the cooleys left a long way behind under a guard, we halted again under the shade of some very fine trees, in a wide and open bottom, grown only with weeds,
that

that extends some miles along the lake of *Minary*. Here, as we approached the lake, and still more as turning a little to the right, we proceeded along its borders, the most noble scenes of nature arose on every side. The grandest variety of hills I had ever seen, of vast height and magnitude, and taking different dispositions as we moved along, immense and various vallies opened upon us. The lake itself must have a fine effect in this grand scene, when full. It appeared now not to be near so; but is at all times a very noble and extensive sheet of water.

When our people had a little rested from the heat and fatigue, and our bullocks joined the main body, we moved again; and in an hour and a half more, (I walked along the lake with the King of Candy's brassy-barrelled firelock, but unluckily I had only a single ball, so that I only frightened the wild-fowl that abound on it) we at length approached the wished-for environs of *Wish-tegall*. But where wishes are so anxious, fears are in proportion. Here we were to know our fate, as to the essential object of provision;

provision; and, probably, the state and disposition of the country.

We halted our people at about a mile distance from the village, which lies out of the way to Candy, and Mr. CHERECH and I advanced to reconnoitre. He told me he saw the people running into the woods. A most discouraging omen! We went on about a quarter of a mile, to the dry bed of a river; and thence we descried MAHOMMED approaching, the revealer, as he was in a great measure, the minister of our destiny. Two of the country people with him. A propitious omen! which we found most agreeably verified in MAHOMMED'S report. He had taken great pains, and with success, to quiet the alarms of the people, and they had actually returned to their houses; but being almost as wild as the fowl of *Minary* lake, had been as much frightened at our approach, and ran back to the woods, as Mr. CHERECH had seen. Our two *Wifhtegallians*, who were perfectly pleased with their interview, said they would now bring them back immediately.

As

As to MAHOMMED's essential commission, he succeeded most fortunately indeed: and very wisely embraced all the good fortune that presented itself; for he had purchased one thousand measures of paddy—very dear, though, if price were now an object; consistently with the report of the *Noatchy-wetty* men. To the ten pagodas I had furnished him with, he had added ten of his own: twenty pagodas for five hundred measures of rice! But circumstances governing all things, it was a most cheap and valuable acquisition; making us, even in the worst event or appearance of politics, masters of our own motions for some days at least.

We ordered up the main body, and after repeating to them all the strictest injunctions against entering the village, in the presence of many of the people, who were by this time assembled, and much pleased with our caution, we pitched our tents within about half a mile, in a charming situation. Just in the front of my tent, was a very noble and venerable tree, inclining a little with age; but it was a flourishing *viridisque senectus*;

tus; with a beautiful perspective through its lower branches, of an amphitheatre of woods, terminating a lawn that appeared with a very new and useful ornament, as we have copiously experienced, from the very fine milk of the cows that we saw grazing on it.

Our trusty MAHOMMED, the prime minister of our supply and intelligence, proceeded in his care of the paddy, to have it beaten out as soon as possible by the country people; our own being interdicted the village.

Mr. CHERECH and I, after a dinner of salt beef, enjoyed our supper off a very fine fowl curried with rice, with additional satisfaction, from the certainty that our people would now have enough of it for supper for four or five nights to come: and I lay down on my cot more comfortable than I had done for many nights before.

At Wishtegall.

FEBRUARY 13th. — Notwithstanding the exertions of MAHOMMED, our essential business of beating out the paddy remained incomplete; and we were detained in necessary consequence all day. The hands were but few to beat out such a quantity of paddy; and those few were occupied by the influence of the palankeen-boys, who found means, when we sent a few of them to bring the rice from the village, instead of beating for themselves, to employ the country people, and to detach them from the paddy of the sepoys. In the evening, we sent up some of the cooleys under a small guard; and hoped to have the whole done early the day following.

In supply for head-quarters, we found the ability of the people inferior to their inclinations. Our breakfast, indeed, was sumptuous, with the addition of the afore-said milk to our tea, and a prodigious fine egg, whose size and excellence surprized us;

for we boldly ventured on it without inquiry. On making some afterwards, we found we were indebted for it immediately to Mr. CHERECH's jemaudar, but originally to the peacock, which abounds in the woods of this country.

I had this morning a visit from a *Cingalese* man, just arrived from *Allwalay*, one stage about fifteen miles this side of Candy. He said he left the general there on the 11th, and heard he was coming to receive me, and had given orders for houses and accommodations for that purpose; and that the roads were cleared. This favourable information was the more comfortable, as it appeared perfectly spontaneous; and the man too simple to be sent on any deep finesse. He took a pagoda too, which added to all appearance at least, of his intelligence being from himself; as there is a rigid prohibition against the people accepting any present, when employed on publick business.

This morning PERMAUL brought me word, that four or five men had arrived, whom MAHOMMED, meeting in the village, had

had brought down to our ground. He learned from the people there, that these men had been very particular and strict in inquiring about us, and our conduct since we came. The people could not do otherwise than make a very good report of us; and the men, therefore, accompanied MAHOMMED with less difficulty. With apparent candour too, they acquainted him, that they had been sent for this purpose of looking about them, and obtaining all intelligence concerning us, by some principal persons of the country, *Moatyarrs*, higher than the *Veraunies*. Expressing a desire, therefore, to go about the encampment, I directed PERMAUL to shew them all civility, and to notice their observations. They walked about with much attention, particularly to the arms, which were ranged, as usual, near my tent, and which he observed one of them very sily counting.

All this inquiry, first among the people, and ocular examination afterwards, we soon found was a prelude to a more important scene; no less than the approach of the aforesaid *Moatyarrs* themselves, whom these men acknowledged to have sent them, but concealed

concealed from us the circumstance of their being so near us. In fact, they were in an adjacent wood, waiting only the report of their scouts. After some very respectful and distant messaging at first, they made their appearance in the evening*, and opened their business with great formality.

They

* The custom of transacting all publick business at night, seems peculiar to the *Cingalese*. It certainly is not practised by any other people in Asia. It has probably arisen from the jealous policy of their government, which is always upon the watch against domestick treason, which admits all ambassadors with reluctance, and views their conduct with suspicion. Mr. KNOX, in his account of Ceylon, mentions this singular custom, as being part of the policy of the King of Candy. He says, "The King's great endeavour is to secure himself from plots and conspiracies of his people, who are forely weary of tyrannical government, and do often plot to make away with him; but by his subtilty and good fortune together, he prevents them. And for this purpose he is very vigilant in the night: the noise of trumpets and drums, which he appoints at every watch, hinders both himself and all others from sleeping. In the night also he commonly does most of his business, calling ambassadors before him, and reading the letters; also, displacing some of his courtiers, and promoting others."

"Another part of his policy, is to make his country as intricate and difficult to travel as may be; and, there-

They told me, they were sent by the general from Candy to meet me, and in the first place inquired after my health, which they were afraid must have suffered from the inconveniences and want of supply on the road. For this they apologized largely, and said it should be rectified as well and as soon as possible, the general having issued orders for that purpose; but that the time had not yet been sufficient, nor for the general himself to come forward to meet me, which he wished to have done at *Trincomallée*, or at least on the road, as had been the case of a former gentleman, who had come from Madras, Mr. PYBUS. That to fulfil now as well as might be, the customary and necessary compliments, the general requested I should halt wherever they might meet me: that they had travelled night and day for this purpose, and hoped, therefore, I would remain at present at *Wishtegall*.

“fore, forbids the woods to be felled, especially those
“that divide province from province, and permits no
“bridges to be made over the rivers, nor the roads to be
“made wider.” KNOX on *Ceylon*, p. 44.

I replied

I replied with all possible thanks and compliments to the general, of whose obliging attention I was perfectly sensible, but that I begged he would not be solicitous on that head: for that I should consider myself equally honoured by the intention, and what circumstances admitted, as if all the customary compliments had been prepared: and that as his wish for my stay arose merely from that consideration, I was sure he would wave what was so unnecessary a point of form, and wish rather I would go on with all speed, when he considered what essential motives of business and publick utility urged me forward. Besides, I had stated these motives, and my proceeding on them, in two several letters to the King, and was therefore additionally bound to be consistent, in matters of such importance, and which I flattered myself would be agreeable to his Highness.

They still urged their wish that I should remain at *Wishtegall*, till the general should come and meet me, and all due compliment be paid: and observed, pointedly enough, that if I came intirely on grounds of friendship,

ship, it was extraordinary I would not comply with the wishes and customs of friends.

Having assured them most explicitly and strongly on that point of friendship, I endeavoured to convince them that it was therefore only I was so anxious to proceed; for that such long delay as they recommended, (having answered me that the general probably would not leave Candy to come and meet me, till he should hear from them) might be fatal to the friendly business I came with. However, that I had so much respect for the wish of every person in this country, that I should proceed more slowly than I had intended, and only two stages more, to *Nallendy-Caravery*, till I should meet him there, or hear from the King; and that I should certainly remain there, or proceed, only as should be agreeable to his Highness's commands.

At this they expressed great satisfaction, and after a minute inquiry into our whole number, sepoy, servants, palankeen-bearers, and coolies, for the purpose of providing a sufficient number, as they promised, and supply for us all, they said they would
make

make all haste to report the particulars of our conference to the general, and at court.

I desired they would do so exactly, and represent, with my best respects to the general, the sentiments I had expressed, and which I now repeated and enforced; and in the propriety and urgency of which, I had no doubt the general himself would concur, and be very happy that as little time as possible should have been lost.

This tedious conference concluded, Mr. CHERECH and I adjourned to more comfortable business, the discussion of our fowl-curry, which we could hardly make hot enough to encounter the night cold and extreme dampness of the dews. It penetrated the triple covering of my tents; and not being used to sleep in a cold bath, and more than half invalid as I had been for some time, I felt its effect very unpleasantly. But we had gained our main point—expedition; and the next day proceeded on our journey.

From

From *Wishtegall* to *Rock-River*.

FEBRUARY 14th.—The delay in preparing provisions, and consequently in setting out this day, was the less important, as it might in some degree seem an attention to the wishes of our advancing slowly, so strongly pressed by the *Moatyarrs* yesterday.

We did not move till a little past four, in hopes even then of day-light sufficient to gain a small lake about eight miles distant, and pitch our tents there. But the road, though a little cleared, as to the immediate closeness of the wood, was so peculiarly rough and difficult—through little channels of broken rocks and craggy stones, that we advanced very slowly indeed, and at last not at all, the light which we should otherwise have had from the stars, being totally intercepted by the high woods. Now, too, began the carousals of the forest; and we learnt from MAHOMMED and some *Cingalese* with us, that it is very dangerous to travel

without lights and much precaution. Our bullocks too were wedged in rock, half a mile behind; absolutely unable to come on without light and additional help.

Halting, therefore, in the dry bed of this river, which deserves the name I give it from an immense rock close to the place we stopped in, rising to a prodigious height, we sent back some sepoy and palankeen-boys to the relief of the bullocks, with as many pieces of candle as we could scrape up by accident; for unluckily my candle-box, and all the lanthorns were gone on with some of our party, who, not knowing that our large body would be thus obliged to halt, had advanced far before us, my debash and writer with them; they were enough to be safe: some of the cooleys, a few sepoy, and my orderly trooper.

The bullocks joined us in about an hour: —Mr. CHERECH made an excellent disposition against any night attack of our forest enemies*; we supped very heartily on

* Fire being the best defence against them, we kept two great piles burning all night.

bread,

bread, cheese, and grog, and slept very soundly in the bed of the river of the rock.

From *Rock-River* to *Gona*.

FEBRUARY 15th.—We started at half past five; and in an hour and ten minutes, through woods a little, (and but a little, cleared, joined our advanced parties (for they had separated also into two divisions) at the lake we expected to have reached the night before, the perils and dangers of which were really much more than imaginary. Besides their hearing the destruction of the forest, not unfrequent in the night, by its huge inhabitants bursting through it, we discovered by a *certain* and very recent relique in the road, that one of those immense animals had been very near the foremost party, in which were PERMAUL and my orderly trooper. But they had the fortune and great civility of an actual visit from the bear,

bear, who came across them after they had halted. Very inhospitably, the orderly fired at him; and *bruin*, not relishing this unexpected return for his politeness, returned without farther ceremony. We breakfasted here, and made a long halt of three hours. In two more reached *Noatchy-Wetty*, where two or three of the inhabitants came forward very frankly to receive me, and converse with us. We had found, in various places, less of that foolish timidity, and much more disposition to intercourse in the *Choliars* of the country, who are Mahommedans, and quite distinct * in their manners, from the other more numerous and superior class, the *Cingalese*.

Our *Choliar*-visitors inquired very particularly for the Nabob, for whom they have high respect, and very cordially promised to procure us some fowls and eggs. But MAHOMMED, whom, as usual, we had dispatched

* Of this distinction I conceive some advantage might in future be made, in the possible case of political disagreements with a people so bigotted and obstinate as the *Cingalese* appear to be. The *Choliars* have a chief of their tribe at court. They seem a more manly, effective race of men than the other.

before

before us, had in the mean time saved them the trouble, and prevailed on some of the *Cingalese* to come out to us with a few.

Here, too, we found a material distinction; for on offering them a few pagodas, the *Choliars* had no manner of objection, and were actually coming forward to take them, till prevented by the *Cingalese*, the principal of whom made a long and loud speech on the occasion, of the guilt of accepting any reward on the King's service.

Another particular too I ought not to omit, as I confess it has surprised me a little, and shews at least that odd thoughts have been in other heads as well as ours. Before we left them, one of the *Choliars* took MAHOMMED aside, and in great confidence and solemnity urged, that we should be on our guard against the treachery of the *Cingalese*, whom he represented in the most perfidious colours; and recommended, particularly, that we should not go into the houses they might prepare for us. This insinuation may be the result merely of the envy and ill understanding between them; but touching the string that has already been so wound up,
it

it heightens the note of caution at least, if not of suspicion.

After a long halt at *Noatchy-Wetty*, for our men were much fatigued, we arrived, between five and six in the evening at our next stage near *Gona*, that is, we pitched our tents in the road, and a very narrow one; closed up with woods and hills, and if among others than friends, we were in a very unpleasant and dangerous situation. But Mr. CHERECH, as usual, took all possible and judicious care of every thing; and not only ordered, but went himself round every department of cooleys and bullocks, as well as sepoy, and saw, according to the wakeful notification which all our sentries repeated aloud every quarter of an hour through the night, "*All's well.*"

From Gona to Choultry-Plain.

BESIDES the circumstances of suspicion that have occurred on our part, so many more anxious appeared on theirs, that I was very

very solicitous to reach *Nallendy-Caravery*, where I hoped to meet the general, or some of their principal people, and come to an eclaircissement of mutual confidence. But the roads have been so rocky and rough to-day, that after a long halt at the side of a very pleasant river, ten miles on this side of *Gona*, (where I was lucky in meeting a man whom my people knew, returning to *Tumbela-Caumum*, and by whom I sent a few lines to Capt. BONNEVAUX, acquainting him with our progress, with thanks for the wines and good spirits we had received from him the night before)—we were at last, and with much difficulty arrived only here, five or six miles, I am told, short of *Caravery*. I take the liberty of naming this fine plain, *Choultry-Plain*, on the report of MAHOMMED, who told me there were the remains of a fine old choultry. I was so fatigued, that I took his word. The bold openness of this situation was a good contrast to our inclosure the night before, “bound in with faucy doubts and fears.”

The prospects of to-day very grand and various. Stupendous hills on our right as

we

we passed; and the immense height to which they carried their verdure, with now and then abrupt faces of rock breaking through, added great sublimity to the beauty of the scene.

From *Choultry-Plain* to the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 17th.—About eight in the morning came two messengers from the general, to let me know that he had received my message from *Wishtegall* by the *Moaty-arrs*; and that, in consequence of his orders, all possible speed had been used in preparing a house, &c. for me, near *Nallendy-Caravery*; but that as it could not be ready till evening, it was hoped I would stop here a little, and that every thing should be done as well and as soon as possible. I told them, with thanks and respects to the general, that though I had been just ready to move, yet anxious to comply with the wishes of my friends, I would stop for a few hours, as desired;

desired; and would be very happy, when I advanced, and it should be convenient to the general, to have the pleasure of meeting him. They said they left him at *Allwalay*, yesterday, but believed he would come on to *Nallendy* to-day. They then took leave, and returned in great haste.

I was very glad to learn intelligence from these men, of SOLYMAN and CHUBDAL, the bearers of my letters from *Trincomalle* and *Pulian-Caravery*, of or from whom I had yet no account; but they told PERMAUL, on inquiry, that they had both gone on, and my letters were forwarded.

In consequence of the above arrangement we did not move till half past twelve, and about an hour and ten minutes, as we were proceeding very quick along some fine road which compensated a little for a great rocky hill we had just passed over, I was met by three or four persons, of some consequence apparently, from their train; among whom were some bow and pikemen.

They were also just come from the general at *Allwalay*, but hearing of my arrival they supposed he would soon be here.

After

After their usual compliments and apologies, they observed, that as the court might now be considered as at *Nallendy-Caravery*, many of the principal persons being there, and it being a place always of particular estimation and consequence, it was the custom, and would be expected as a proper compliment, that I should alight from my palankeen, and walk the rest of the way.

I was a little surprised by this extraordinary strain of respect, required at so many degrees from the throne; but assuring them of my sincere desire of complying with the customs of the court, and paying every compliment in my power, consistently with the propriety of my own situation, I told them that if even this were to be considered so, I should be unable to conform to it, being much indisposed with the fatigues of my journey, and the heat of the weather. They repeated it was the custom, and therefore only they mentioned it, but that I should certainly do what was agreeable to me. I reassured them as before; and that whatever was most agreeable to the King, would be so to me, as far as should be in my power.

They desired then to go, that they might trim up the house, they had been able to make ready, with white cloth, and begged I would stop a little till it could be done. They promised not to exceed an hour, and that they would then send to conduct me.

We halted, therefore, in a very pleasant shade, near the river *Nallendy*; now with little water, but in the rainy seasons a full and strong stream. Here was a number of houses, as they call them, but in fact, nothing more than huts, of mud walls and straw, neatly enough, however, constructed, and ranged not unlike small squares of colleges, some within others, with one elevated in the centre, and larger than the rest. There was also a neat cottage, built by the late King as a place of pleasure, and very agreeably situated, near the river, on the other side of which rose very fine hills, covered with trees and verdure. This country so far justifies those who place Eden here, for it abounds, according to the Poet of Paradise, with "woody theatres of stateliest view." This rustick palace, however,

however, like other Richmonds, remains unfinished.

While we halted, two or three persons came, and flyly counted our people; but I was not sorry at this symptom, prognosticating a complete preparation of provisions.

At the River Nallendy.

THE persons who had met us on the road, more than doubled their appointment of an hour; and it was past four when we moved near the river to our new habitation, which had really a very pretty appearance as we approached it. The green walls of cocoa-nut leaves, very neatly interwoven, and bound and pannelled with laths, and the roofs very compact with wattling, and well thatched, appeared both cool and comfortable; with the rural magnificence of a spacious Pandaul, cross which we entered: there were two

rooms joined on each side, with an open way between:—each about fifteen feet square. In mine was prepared a seat of rather inconvenient dignity and elevation.

Here I sat some time, expecting a visit, or inquiry, at least, from our hosts: but none appeared. Soon, however, were sent an amazing number of cocoa-nuts, almost three hundred, as we afterwards found. This looked like a plentiful prelude to the various provision that we expected to follow; fruit especially: though I was most desirous to have the rice expedited, the men having had very little in the morning; only the savings of the former day.

Not having the smallest doubt of a complete supply of all kinds, I was astonished in proportion at finding it did not extend a grain beyond the cocoa-nuts! I sent MAHOMMED to inquire if any of the persons we had just met on the road were yet here; and on his reporting that two remained, I desired they might come to me: and on finding from them that no rice was prepared,

pared, nor to be procured, but by immediate orders from the general, whom they had sent to at *Allwalay*, but could not, therefore, expect till to-morrow; I thought it not impolitic to indulge, what the occasion so justly provoked, an almost angry surprize at so essential a disappointment. I expostulated very strongly on the necessity of our people's situation, without provisions; and on the certain expectation we had for some days past been induced to entertain of complete supply here: for that otherwise we should have taken care to obtain and bring it with us; but as they had known so long of our immediate approach, both from my letters and messengers, and their own, the chief peon, particularly, from *Tumbela-Caumum*, and many since; I certainly had reason to rely, at least, on the necessary supply for my people *here*, where provision so plentifully abounded, as I had been uniformly assured *all possible accommodation and supply should be prepared*, and that the general *had already given orders for that purpose*: particularly by the *Moatyarrs* at *Wishtegall*, four days ago, with whom I had settled my
route

route to come on thus far, and who had ascertained my expectation of supply, here, at least, if not sooner, by taking an exact account of the number of all our people for that purpose (and the general had sent to me that he had received my message, &c. from *Wyshtegall*.) Of this I reminded one of these two persons who attended them there as an adviser or assistant. He seemed a shrewd old gentleman, and a man of business.

To all this he could only answer, there had not been orders sufficiently particular from the general, to authorize the people to supply us as they wished; but that he would be here to-morrow himself.

Our conference concluded with my restating the absolute necessity of our situation, and requiring, therefore, as emphatically as I could, that it might immediately be represented, with all that had passed, to some of the persons of the court, who I understood were then at *Nallendy-Caravery* *, and I supposed, though the general was absent,

* The town about half a mile on the other side of the river.

could

could give the necessary orders immediately: adding, in compliment, my best respects and acknowledgments for the house already prepared, and so commodiously, considering the shortness of the time.

The men promised to make all speed, and return in an hour.—After waiting upwards of six hours, neither rice, answer, nor any notice of us from *Caravery* arrived, except a considerable number of men posted on the other side of the river to watch us. It would have been wiser in them to have fed us.

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 18th.—The morning elapsed in expectation and disappointment. I wondered at the patience of the men, who hardly even complained. About one or two o'clock in the afternoon SOLYMAN returned, the bearer of my first letter to the King, from *Trincomallée*.

After

After a long account of his delays and difficulties, in going up with my letter, misled into wrong and bad roads, by the peons he went with,—and at last, on his arrival at *Allwalay*, of his being most strictly and fully examined by the general there, to whom he was known, on all particulars relative to the English, his letter having in the mean time been forwarded to court; he then told me he had left *Allwalay* late the preceding night, at the same time with two generals*, who were advancing with great pomp and retinue to meet me, that he had left them on the way, and supposed they would soon be here.

Matters appeared thus to clear up very satisfactorily, and I was in hopes of proceeding both on business and rice immediately; but much exercise for our patience yet remained, from the slowness and obstinate forms of this extraordinary people.

But not till near seven in the evening had we any notice of their arrival at *Nallendy-Caravery*: It was then notified to me

* Or great persons:—he did not exactly know their rank.

with

with much ceremony, by the peon we had seen at *Tumbela-Caumum*, and one of the chief attendants. They told me that a Pandaul was prepared near my house, for my meeting these personages, according to the custom of the country on similar occasions, and that now it was a form peculiarly proper, as they were of higher rank than usual.

From the appearance of things about me, and the conversation of my people, they understood, it seemed, what I expected, that the visit should be made to me by these persons. I certainly did so, but they had as certain orders to the contrary. For on my telling them, after proper compliments, that I should be ready to have the pleasure of receiving them here, they adhered rigidly to the Pandaul assignation. Besides the custom, and they said this durbar had many peculiar ones, so ancient and sacred that they could not be departed from, they argued that it was perfectly proper to meet half way, and at a third place; as the persons coming to meet me were sent immediately

diately from the King, as I was from the Governor of Madras.

This was as easily answered in *argument* from the additional character I bore, as their *custom*, was in *fact*, by the instance of Mr. PYBUS's reception, who received a visit from a general at *Nallendy-Caravery*. On their doubting this, I referred to his journal; and then they had only to say, that there being now two persons, and of higher rank * than that general, the case was essentially different. I was very unwilling to give up this first point, in which too, I was sure I was right. On my perseverance, therefore, qualifying however, a little, by offering to receive them at or even near my door, and then accompany them; it was agreed that if it should appear to them that Mr. PYBUS's reception had been as I stated, there should be no farther difficulty.

It must appear extraordinary that above two hours should be expended on this discussion, and one or two other points. But

* So they then insinuated, but untruly, as I afterwards found. They were *Secretaries*.

such

such was their slowness and repetition. And it was with difficulty I at last got them away, after urging, in very strong terms to them, the gross disappointment and neglect on their parts, and the pressing necessity on ours, as to provisions.

Many tedious messages ensued as to the point of meeting. At last two new persons advanced from them; and desiring to see my debash PERMAUL, who was my *Malabar* interpreter, and MAHOMMED, (my *Cingalese*) communicated their two strong points of determination, and which they knew were my feeble ones, as to *expedition* and *provision*: that their orders now, and customs always were, as had been stated by their messengers; as they found also on reference to the instance of Mr. PYBUS; (not true) that therefore they would come to the Pandaul; if I did not chuse to meet them there, they must send from thence to the King, *and wait his further orders*. And as for provisions, they had been as industrious as possible in preparing them; but none could be supplied till after the interview with the ambassador.

I confess

I confess the ambaffador was puzzled between his rights and dignity on one hand, and his business and the wants of his people on the other. But determining, without hesitation, in favour of the latter, I answered, that when I found they had crossed the river, (which was rather gaining the point between us) I should meet them, and accompany them to the Pandaul.

They came accordingly, attended and belighted most splendidly; with a great number of masaulgies, umbrella-bearers, peons, &c. and forty or fifty firelocks; of course, we were neither so numerous nor magnificent, studiously indeed not so in the latter particular, for I requested Mr. CHERECH to change his intention of half his number for a guard, and to take only twelve. I saw their apprehensions had been their great obstacle to the advance of business; and I was anxious to avoid appearances, even that might continue or revive them.

At

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 19th.—Being assembled in the Pandaul, but not till half past one in the morning! with all our suites, lights, &c. and seated, they on a raised bench prepared rather too high, I thought, and I on my own chair, covered with white cloth, they descended very solemnly, and we stood all the time the ceremonies and inquiries were going on; which was very slowly indeed, they were so surprisingly tedious, and particular; first for the Governor of Madras, then the Nabob, then the Members of Council, then the Gentlemen at Madras; with half a dozen of observations on each, of their happiness and their health, their hopes for its continuance, their being so glad at whatever I happened to say in reply, &c.

After my ceremonials in return, equally tedious, but necessary, it seemed, for his Highness, the Prime Minister, the Generals, &c. we sat; and they began a most minute inquiry as to the force, and all the particulars of the operations of the English fleet
and

and troops that had come to Ceylon. I satisfied them amply as to these points, as well as to the whole histories of *Negapatam* and *Trincomallée*, except the immediate present destination of the fleet; I told them only that the Admiral was to be joined by the great additional force both of ships and troops hourly expected from Europe: but that as to the next service they were going upon, being a delicate point of most important consequence, which my confidential situation had given me an opportunity of knowing pretty certainly, perhaps, I could not enter on it now; but should be happy, when I had the honour of seeing his Highness, and advancing on confidential ground with him, to communicate all particulars to him in the most satisfactory manner. They seemed to admit the propriety of this; and then changing the subject, they said they had also some points of a delicate nature to mention, and wished, therefore, the people, who thronged closely about us, to retire.—With great solemnity they proceeded to represent the sacredness of their customs, and hoped what they had to propose relative to them

them would not be disagreeable. I agreed as to the respect due to custom, especially of so ancient a country; but not to answer particularly, till I knew what particulars they had to propose.

The first, I confess, surpris'd me, which they stated very seriously, that it had always been the custom for ambassadors to go to Candy by way of *Columbo*. They therefore wished that I would go the *Columbo way*, and then they would be able to receive me more as they wished, with more pomp and greater convenience; for that I had hitherto come by a way that no ambassador had ever come, and that its want of accommodation for me and my people was a serious concern to the court. If they meant, as it struck PERMAUL, that I should actually pass *through Columbo*, it was a most curious attempt to prorogue my business till our complete destruction of the Dutch should leave no option between them and us,—but I rather thought they had only meant I should go some roundabout way into the *Columbo* road, and make my approach on that side. The answer was pretty obvious; that

that as I had been at *Trincomallée*, and not at *Columbo*, I could only come from the former place; and that my business was too important and urgent to admit any delay, or change in my route: but that, in fact, an English gentleman * had come to Candy some years ago, pretty nearly the same way that I came. They said, that his was a stolen and wandering sort of expedition; but they considered mine in a quite different and much higher light. More persons, therefore, and of higher rank, would meet me, and it was wished to pay me every proportionate compliment, which could be better done *that way according to custom*.

This strange proposal, however, so *out of the way* † at present, they still persisted in, after some farther conversation, and I have stated it at full, only to shew how tenacious they must be of forms and customs, practicable on the spot, when they could affect

* Mr. PYBUS.

† I found afterwards, that the roads they insisted on my taking, lost me near forty miles; from *Nallendy-Caravery*, being only about twenty miles the direct road, and the way I was obliged to go, fifty-seven.

such

such adherence to one so unreasonable and difficult, if not impossible.

My ready promise to comply with the customs of the court, which they enumerated, in delivering my letters, &c. gave them much pleasure; with my warm professions of every respect and friendship towards the King: which I gave them to understand was the sole ground of my compliance in the instance they required; for that they could not suppose an English ambassador would be swayed by any example or customary conduct of the Dutch, who were a little people, without a King, and with *no fleets nor armies*. They said, they were perfectly sensible of the great power and superiority of the English, and that much higher respect would therefore be shewn to me, than had ever been to the Dutch, or any other ambassador.

Only one important point remained, as to the manner of my approach to Candy, and the only one on which we differed; the number of my sepoy. They urged, that they were absolutely unnecessary; that his Highness would order a sufficient guard of

his sepoy's for me, or any number I required; therefore, I should want none of my own, but that if I desired, I might have six or seven with me, and they hoped I would not think of bringing more. On this point I was less influenced now than I should have been some days before, by the consideration of *safety*, merely from Candian politicks. Still, however, having heard much, and seen something of their duplicity, it was not wholly out of the question. But on other grounds also, I was extremely anxious to retain my sepoy's. They were by far the best part of *my appearance*, and would be a requisite, as well as respectable distinction, above the rabble train, but very numerous and showy, that the Dutch always brought with them. Besides, it was an essential part of the sepoy-plan originally, to shew our soldiers to the King and his generals, to impress them with due respect for the military superiority of their new friends.

I partly stated this idea to them, that I hoped it would give great pleasure to the King and his court, to see as many of their friends as they could, especially friends so respectable

respectable and efficient: but that as to myself, it would be contrary to my duty, in the character I bore, to give up so essential a part of its dignity: that in sincere respect to the dignity of their court, and sacredness of their customs, I had promised compliance in the instances they required, that I claimed, therefore, in this important instance, a reciprocal respect from them to those high powers I represented:—besides, the small guard I had with me, though in the present consideration, merely objects of appearance and attendance, might on my return possibly be necessary to me in point of defence against enemies, or unforeseen dangers.

This argument spun out to great length. They then advanced one little step, and said I might bring *eight*, and at last they offered to consent to *ten*. I had hitherto been rigid to my whole number; but seeing, contrary to my expectations, from their extreme obstinacy, that they yielded a little,—I thought it best to offer them at once, and finally a compromise of half my number, twenty-five; making a high merit of it, as a concession that I was not justified to myself in making,

making, but as a testimony of my extreme desire to meet their wishes.

Reduced thus, like old LEAR, from my fifty knights to five-and-twenty, I, like him too, expected permission even for them: but was a little afraid, on the contrary, of the same reply, "What need one?"—The two negociators said they would, according to their orders, send all particulars of our conference to court, particularly the latter, and that orders would then be returned, for our proceeding, according to the King's pleasure. I pressed to go on immediately, if possible, for that time was essentially precious, but to no purpose,—their orders and customs were sacred, and must be complied with. They promised, however, to dispatch with all speed, and said they expected an answer the third day. I did not believe them; but waited patiently.

Our conference, which was incredibly tedious, concluded at last with a very minute inquiry, on their part, into the nature and number of the presents I had brought for the King? how many boxes or trunks contained them? and how many men would be required

required to carry them? Having but few, and of little weight, I parried particulars as well as I could.

We separated not till past *seven o'clock* in the morning! the pressing article of supply for our almost starving people began at last to be attended to. Rice was sent, with proper accompanyments, but little more than sufficient for a day for the sepoys. So that the cooleys, poor fellows, and the palankeen-boys, whom I less pitied, were still kept at short, and some at no, commons. I sent repeated remonstrances, and for a little better attention too, to head-quarters; for they had sent only the same fare for Mr. CHERECH and me.

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 20th.—This is the land flowing neither with milk nor honey. Except a few eggs in addition we only received our rice and its accompanyments, which
made,

made, however, a great swing on the bamboos. SOLYMAN brought a couple of fowls most seasonably, of a stock he had had on his tour at *Caravery*. But it was some comfort in our *starvation*, to find, it was rather from scarcity, than neglect. Rice had not been in plenty, and quantities had been collected higher up. Good, at least, in prospect; and as to fowls, none were to be given us by authority; it being the *custom* for the King to prohibit any life being taken in his dominions, *unless in private*, as themselves all do from these fowls, and as we were permitted to do by connivance.

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 21st.—Our people were at last attended to: and last night, palankeeners, cooleys, and all had plenty of rice, &c. except gee and spice of some sort, which the sepoy complained much of the want of, and

and of their not being permitted to buy: for that is the awkward consequence of their punctilious hospitality. The great folks either would not, or I believe could not, order us what we wanted, and the lower people were not permitted to take money for what little they could furnish us with. This was peculiarly severe on the table at head-quarters, where the last two fowls of SOLYMAN'S stock, this day, made their appearance: and unless resources had arisen, would have left us prematurely in a very literal Lent; not only as to all manner of flesh, but without fish, butter, and milk, and very few eggs.

This morning I had notice of the two old gentlemen at the river side, where I met them, determined, if I could, without offence or delay, to rectify some of the punctilios in which they had improperly taken advantage of me. I expected, therefore, that I should this day have the compliment of the hand, which I had shewn on the former; and that one of them should now *hand me* to the Pandaul, as I had him. Absolute objection was made to
this,

this, as contrary to custom, and their orders.

I instanced, in strong terms, the difference of respect shewed Mr. PYBUS, who had been *visited* at the house prepared for him, at this very place, by a general: complained of the misinformation attempted on that head and others, by the persons sent to me the other evening, and argued, that the mistake ought now to be rectified as fully as possible.

This the spokesman contrived at last, but not till after many repetitions and explanations, by a resource perfectly satisfactory to me, as to pucillio, though in fact the invention of the moment. He said the *visit* was all along *intended* to me: but that the place prepared for me, not being large enough, the Pandaul was made ready—*which was to be considered also as my house*. This solved all points. I immediately sent a chubdar and peon to take possession, and then handed my new guest to my new house.

But I found there they had nothing new to say, and it was merely a *visit*, as I am now

to

to call it, of ceremony, and perhaps to make farther observations of us and our manners. After compliments, and some very honest complaints on my part, as to provisions, they told me they had dispatched, early yesterday, to the King, an account of all our preceding conference; and as the Prime Minister and Generals, whose office it was to expedite such busineses, wished it as much as we; they hoped for an answer that night, or the next morning; which they promised to communicate as soon as received; and besides, they wished to see me again, as they had other matters to converse upon, but that being now dinner-time, they would for the present take leave. I pressed them, if they did not chuse to stay, to let me have the pleasure of seeing them in the evening. But they postponed till next day.

Dry rice and quantities of pumpkins, agreed as ill with the men, as the *strict Lent* did at head-quarters!

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 22d.—The morning elapsed without any intelligence of, or from the other side of the river; and if there were no business to make time anxious, pleasant enough it might be in our house of audience, charmingly situated near the river, which murmurs along coolly and clearly under its sloping banks and high overshading trees. Mr. CHERECH and I had taken complete possession, and breakfasted and dined there, on the little we could make out, of egg-curry, but without the essential ingredient of greens, and a miserable rice-pudding, that manufacture not being the fort of our travelling kitchen.

After dinner the approach of our two friends was announced; who paid a long evening visit. MAHOMMED had just learned and told me that they had received, in the morning, a letter from Candy, and that the Prime Minister there had died the day before. This, I feared, might add delay; but expected particulars from my visitors.

None

None were communicated. Concealed, on the contrary, they denied having received or heard any. But after a long conversation, relating, very tediously, all their customs, and reassuring themselves of my willingness to conform to them; and inquiring again, still more minutely than before, into all the particulars of our fleet and army, and successes against the Dutch that I had been witness of, at *Negapatam* and *Trincomallée*, which I fully gratified, and in some points surprised them with; the old gentleman at last told me, on my pressing for expedition, the moment he should be authorised from Candy, that he expected it immediately; that he was obliged, however, to go, early in the morning, to *Allwalay*, to the general, whom he would make very happy by communicating to him all I had said, both of the sentiments, great power, and successes of their friends: and that he would return the same night, or next morning. I could make no reply to this new delay, but to urge that it might be as short as possible; and was very glad to see them at last incline to move.

As

As to their favourite ground of custom for their demands of such extraordinary respect, finding they were endeavouring, (as in the Pandaul instance, and in the first demand on my coming hither, that *I should walk*) to exact new, rather than be content with the old, I was very glad to find them wave, and seem perfectly satisfied too, with my remonstrance against one, which they at first stated very solemnly, and required among others, that *I should throw myself prostrate on the ground*, as the Prime Minister and all the Generals did, on approaching his Highness, and so remain, till permitted to rise. This was given up; and the ceremony of the knee, to which I assented, agreed on *.

Towards the close of our conversation, I was surpris'd at the personal curiosity expressed as to myself, and the manner the old gentleman put his questions to me. He

* This ceremony the Dutch ambassadors to the court of Candy were always obliged to submit to, until the conclusion of the last war between them; when it was made a condition of the treaty of peace, that it should be laid aside in all their subsequent negotiations.

did a rude thing as civilly as possible; apologising and explaining that friends wished to know all particulars of each other, and that the King would consider my merit in coming to him as the greater, when he knew what situation, and what connections I had consented to leave for that purpose: he would, therefore, be infinitely obliged to me if I would let him know what rank I stood in, and how long? and then all my private situation; was I married?—any children?—and how many?—father or mother alive?—or any brothers and sisters?—and how many?—and what estate? No New-England-man could be more inquisitive; nor at the same time a Parisian more polite. I made great friendly merit in satisfying his curiosity in what I thought proper, and he expressed much pleasure and obligation.

At

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th.—I never passed so many days so anxiously. It was near twelve o'clock of the 28th, the *sixth* day since the old secretary left us, with a positive promise to return from *Allwalay* the 1st or 2d, but till within this half hour I had heard nothing of, from, or concerning him, except a report of what I suspected, from the first, that he was gone to Candy. Now, indeed, we learned from the men who came with provisions, in consequence of a very emphatical message, which I took a lucky opportunity of conveying yesterday to the other old gentleman who remained at *Caravery*, that a general, of the *Paulipanny* district, and another eminent person, had left Candy, and arrived at *Allwalay* yesterday, and were expected by the travelling old secretary at *Caravery* this day.

I repeated my message of yesterday to these people, but doubted their carrying it; re-urging expedition, and requiring, with all possible

possible civility and compliment, an answer, with some information relative to our and their motions. For every means of this, have studiously been prevented. With a care, indeed, that increased not a little the anxiety of my speculations, in addition to the simple circumstance of delay. No passage, for some days past, permitted to any of our people to the other side of the river, where guards, or watchmen rather, were constantly posted. I endeavoured by little detached parties towards some of the neighbouring villages, and by circuitous ways over the river too, to obtain intelligence, if they could slyly, and fowls avowedly. But they brought us scanty supplies of both. The 27th, one of them returned with a repetition of the former report, of a Dutch ambassador from *Columbo*, and of his being actually on his way, with Europeans and Malays.—*SOLYMAN*, captain of our scouts, was dispatched this morning with one of our *Cingalese*, to be ascertained, if possible, on this important point. But indeed, exclusively of this, or any other difficulty or adversity that might arise, the obstinate dilatory spirit

spirit which so strangely delayed even the beginning of my business, made me almost despair of its effectual conclusion, in time for the expected publick service *; if what other delays have rendered, perhaps, not very probable, that we should be able, after all, to proceed as expected. In my

* The attack of *Columbo*, and the other Dutch settlements in Ceylon. This being a great object of the southern expedition, which had commenced so fortunately and so early by the capture of *Negapatam*, (the 10th Nov. the preceding year) I had often the honour of discussing the subject there with Sir EDWARD HUGHES and Sir HECTOR MUNRO.—The latter was so obliging to enter on it particularly, and to give his opinion as to the number of troops necessary, &c. Expedition, however, was an article as necessary as force. Unfortunately, *but I suppose unavoidably*, the fleet remained near two months at *Negapatam*, after its capture.—After the taking of *Trincomallée*, when Sir E. HUGHES was preparing to sail for Madras, the latter end of Jan. 1782, the last conversation I had the honour of holding with him on the subject, was very particular, as stated in the introduction. It was then agreed, that by my gaining my way to Candy with the best expedition, the requisite measures might be effected for assisting and securing the important objects intended:—as the fleet could not act on the western side of Ceylon till the middle of April, and Sir EDWARD's intention was to return immediately from Madras, to act with Commodore ALMS's squadron, which was expected every hour.

little

little department of it, if I have erred, it has been as I wished, on the side of expedition. For if I had not advanced as I did, it is obvious that it would have been utterly impossible to have effected any thing towards the service for this season. Coming on, even as I have done, and removed as all their doubts and foolish fears seemed to be, yet the bigotry of this extraordinary people to their flow customs and all their forms, rendered any timely arrangement with them very improbable. I hope it is evident that I had given all possible chance, at least, to its success, and on the other hand, I am afraid it may appear, I incurred some that were too strong against me. But the value of the object, I thought, was more than the danger of the means, or the importance of the instruments. And on that scale, hazard becomes prudence.

I continued in hopes that a few hours more might possibly give us a glimpse of business and Candy. In the mean time, Mr. CHERECH and I sat down in our Pandaul with patience and good appetite to our

last chicken and mango-curry. As I expected, seven o'clock came before any announcement of our visitors, and nine before they made their appearance. They then came to the river side, with a very numerous and splendid train attending the general; a very considerable number of their sepoy, some hundreds, but indifferently armed, various musick and flags, and some small swivel guns.

We took our seats in great form, and after all the usual tediousness, I found at last, with much satisfaction, that this general was come from the King to conduct me next morning; but on some subsequent information I learned that they adhered to their roundabout way of going by the *Columbo* approach, which would induce a further delay of two or three days.

On two other points they were equally tenacious, the old one of the sepoy, a new one of my horse, which I brought from *Trincomallée*, which I in vain represented, as was much too truly the fact, to be absolutely necessary to my health. I rode twice
a day,

a day, and found most essential benefit from it. But no one is allowed to ride near Candy *. As to the sepoy, it was settled on their positive requisition, with which they were much pleased at my compliance, that I should take with me only twelve, with the havildar and naig. Another havildar's guard left at this place, for relief, perhaps, of the Candian guard,—appearance, &c. with the tents, perforce indeed, for there were seven or eight invalids who could not march. Mr. CHERECH went with me, and the other half of our party, all effective, returned immediately to the service at *Trincomallée*.

Gunnoor—from *Trincomallée* 167 miles.

MARCH 4th.—We were now arrived at the end of our journey, for though Candy

* Because it is in this country a kingly custom, which no subject is permitted to enjoy, except as a special favour from the King.

was still five miles distant, we found at *Gun-noor* * the house destined for our residence, as the place from whence we were to hold all our communication with the court.

It is a large building, consisting of a square within a square, and capable of containing five hundred persons: the walls of clay, as usual, but sufficiently strong, and well finished.

The two persons who had been appointed the night before to take care of us, made an early visit, not however to me, as I expected, but to the *presents* which I had brought, and were deposited in a building for the purpose, in the centre of the inner square. With very polite inquiries about my health, &c. they sent to desire that I should accompany them. But finding myself too weak and fatigued to incur any unnecessary trouble of ceremony, I begged they would dispense with my attendance,

* Here all the ambassadors to Candy, and their suites, are accommodated. It is on the high road from *Columbo*, about half a mile from where our bye-road had fallen into it.

and accept Mr. CHERECH, who accordingly did the honours on this occasion.

Soon after, I received a message that two persons from court were arrived at the river, two or three hundred yards distant from our house, on a visit to me, but that it was necessary I should go and receive them there on their crossing it. This being indispensable, notwithstanding my remonstrance of the heat, &c. I was glad to compromise when we came near the river, and to be excused the fatigue of going down a very steep and long flight of broken steps, that led down to its bank. I waited, therefore, in a pagoda, at the head of them, close to the road; and when my visitors were ascended, conducted them with great form to our habitation.

A long *veranda*, extending along one side of the inner square, is used as the scene of conference on these occasions. We stopped there, therefore, and my visitors opened the first part of their business of compliments from his Majesty, and inquiries about health, our accommodation, &c. When this was over,

I was

I was not less surprized than pleased at their proceeding to real business so speedily, and informing me, that as I had all along expressed my desire for a speedy consideration of my business, his Majesty had been graciously pleased to appoint that evening for my first audience, and the delivery of my letters.

Nothing could be more acceptable than this disposition, at which I expressed my satisfaction in the strongest terms, and told them I should be ready in every particular, except one; which I confessed I had promised to comply with, as having been stated to me as customary, of walking to Candy from the other side of the river; but that, so extremely weak and fatigued as I was, I feared it would be utterly out of my power to walk so far, and therefore requested the indulgence of a dooley.

But all I could urge to obtain it was in vain: they said it was contrary to custom, and inadmissible. And when I argued to them that by so rigid an adherence to custom, the most important business might be neglected

neglected or defeated, they answered, there could be nothing more important than the customs of their country, and the respect due to their court *: *that ambassadors who could not walk to Candy, must remain at Gunnoor*; and that one from Goa, on behalf of the Portugueze, had actually been detained there, on that account, five or six weeks.

I requested they would represent to the King, my earnest desire to comply with the customs in every particular in my power; urging, at the same time, the necessity of immediately proceeding on the business I was charged with, and though I was absolutely unable to do so that evening, in the manner they required, that I would attempt it next day, however distressing or dangerous to me, if I could not obtain the indulgence I demanded for this evening.

They then produced a letter for me, from *Trincomallé*, with a trifling apology for the

* On the Candy side of the river, the King has the sole privilege of being carried in any manner, horseback or palankeen, and on the other side, from *Nallendy-Caravery*, as has been mentioned, about fifty miles, no one is allowed to travel in a covered dooley.

delay

delay in my receiving it; for it ought to have been given me on the road. I found it was of an old date, from Capt. BONNEVAUX*, full of apprehensions, not only about our success, but for our safety; with an account of the hostile orders which had been issued from Candy, prohibiting, throughout the country, any intercourse whatsoever with the English, and denouncing the severest penalties against all those who should disobey, with injunctions to seize and detain any of them who should be found in the country; that, in consequence, *Trincomallée* was extremely distressed for supplies, all communication with the country being actually cut off.

I instantly demanded the attention of my visitors to this point, in the most solemn manner, and in the strongest terms remonstrated against a measure so injurious and ungrateful to their friends. The occasion was so important, and the time so pressing, that I thought it necessary to anticipate, in some measure, the business of my commission. I represented to them the object of my

* Commandant at *Trincomallée*.

coming in particular, to establish a firm friendship, and security against their enemies and oppressors; and that our conduct in general, since our first landing at *Trincomallée*, had been strictly consistent with those friendly principles. This I stated to them at large; warning them also, seriously to consider what fatal consequences must ensue, if that hostile idea should be attempted to be enforced, of seizing any person belonging to the English; and insisting, on the whole, that these injurious orders should be instantly revoked, and contrary ones issued, such as we had a right to expect from the whole of our friendly principles and proceedings.

They freely admitted the propriety of my remonstrance, and after apologizing for those obnoxious orders, on the ground of mistake and misinformation, and having their curiosity satisfied as favourably as I could, as to other news in the letter, of the state of *Trincomallée*, and of the fleet, about which they were very inquisitive, they took leave; promising to submit the whole of our conference to the immediate consideration of his Majesty.

They

They expected the same ceremonious attendance in going away, as in coming; and it was not without some difficulty that they dispensed with my accompanying them to the river, though I urged to them how necessary it was for me to reserve myself for the approaching operation of my visit to Candy; which I had still some hopes might be this evening, in a dooley, or *to-morrow, at farthest, without one.*

MARCH 5.—But it was not so near as I expected. Though they had promised I should hear early this day, to fix the hour of being waited on in the evening by the general, towards setting out for Candy, the morning passed without any communication, more than a message about health, &c. from our two first inspectors, and a visit from them, as before—to the presents.

I still expected a notification of the time and particulars of our proceeding, till about six o'clock in the evening, their interpreter, the same who had officiated at *Nallendy-Caravery*, came to let me know, with abundance of compliments and inquiries, that his Majesty

Majesty would be graciously pleased to receive me *the next evening*. This delay, was, it seems, as the interpreter confessed afterwards to my debash, merely on a point of pride,—not to adopt *my* day, as I had not agreed to *theirs*.

In the mean time our day passed unpleasantly enough, the weather intolerably hot, our place of abode very close and disagreeable, and provisions scanty and bad. No fruit, eggs not fresh, and fowls very scarce.

MARCH 6th.—After their visit to the presents, as usual, our two friends notified to me, this morning, in form, that a general would attend me in the evening, to proceed to Candy. All their political operations, I found, were transacted at Candy by night, as I had experienced at *Nallendy-Caravery*.

Between six and seven in the evening, the general's arrival at the other side of the river was announced to me; and that he waited there till I should appear on this side to receive him. I accordingly set forward, with all our people marshalled in our best array,
and

and was now obliged to descend the steps, in honour of the general. When he saw me coming down to the side of the river, he stepped into a boat that waited for him, and some of his principal attendants into another. But the water being then low, though in the rainy season it is very deep and rapid, the bulk of his people, soldiers, &c. waded over. The profusion of lights, and the noise, (though not very harmonious, it must be confessed) of their drums and trumpets, and paterarò cannon from the other side of the river, with the romantick appearance of its woods and banks, rendered the scene upon the whole extremely striking*.

My

* This corresponds, in every material part, with the description given by Mr. KNOX, of the manner in which the court of Candy receives ambassadors. "First," says he, "the King sends several of his great men to meet the
" ambassadors, with great trains of soldiers; the ways
" are all cut broad, and the grass pared away for many
" miles; drums and trumpets, pipes and flags going be-
" fore them; victuals and all sorts of varieties are daily
" brought to them, and continue to be so all the time they
" are in the land, and at free cost. For the custom here
" is, ambassadors, stay they never so long, are maintained
" at

My new visitor was a general of the second order*. He was an old man, of the most engaging appearance and manners. Not only that strain of courtly politeness, which, to my surprize I confess, I

"at the King's cost and charges. And being near the
 "city, have every thing brought for them from the King's
 "palace. Presents, goods, or whatsoever they please
 "to bring with them, the King prepareth men to
 "carry. And when they are come to the house that is
 "prepared for them, which is hung round, top and sides,
 "with white *calico*, they are kept under a guard, and
 "great commanders with soldiers appointed to attend
 "on them; which is accounted a great honour †."
 KNOX on Ceylon, p. 36.

* There are four principal § generals, entrusted with the four grand divisions of the island, *Yalcoralay* to the westward, including *Columbo*: *Nalcoralay*, to the southward, including *Point du Gal*: *Mauthelay*, eastward, including *Trincomallée*: and *Tovey*, including *Jaffnapatam*. Under these are other ‡ generals, who have the care of large subdivided districts. Under them, *veraunies*, and so on through other subordinate officers, the whole system managed with perfect regularity, and the most prompt obedience.

† See the Preface to the Journal.

§ These generals, or governors of provinces, are called *Dissauwas*.

‡ The governors of districts, called *Roerauts*.

found in great perfection, and universal among these people, but a friendly openness and affability peculiarly distinguished this old gentleman.

I conducted him to our quarters, or rather to the quarter where the presents and letters were lodged, for that was the object of his visit. After arranging the mode of conveying them, and preparing our sepoy, pikemen, &c. we set out between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. I had unlocked the box in which the letters were contained, and delivered them to the old general, who folded them very carefully in muslin, and then laid them on a large silver salver, spreading a rich piece of gold brocaded silk over them, and covering the whole with fine white cloth. He then gave me the salver to hold with both my hands above my head, and in that attitude I was to march with it out of our little temple; I then gave it to the person appointed to carry it to Candy, and was very glad to get a business of so much weight off my hands, for it was really very heavy; and so very

weak

weak as I was, even these little commencing operations had fatigued me very much. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how agreeably surprized I was when the old gentleman told me, on our return to the river, that in consideration of what had been represented to the King, he had consented to dispense even with the sacredness of custom in my favour, and allow me the indulgence of a dooley on the other side of the river, to a certain distance, about a mile from Candy; but that then being within the immediate precincts of the court, it would be indispensably necessary to walk that remaining part of the way.

At that moment hardly any intelligence whatever could have been more acceptable to me, for I was absolutely in despair of accomplishing the march. But I had resolved to run every risk, rather than let the business stand still at that critical stage; and in the almost certain event of my not being able to walk all the way, I must have attempted the expedient, of making some of my own people carry me on their shoulders. Now, however, without the necessity of
this

this resource, which might have been objected to and opposed by my conductors, I was enabled to proceed very comfortably, and arrived at the appointed stage, where a little place, convenient enough, was prepared for my reception, about nine o'clock. We had passed through two or three *caravays*, or fortified gates, where parties of their military were drawn out with much ostentation; particularly some Malays, who made a tolerable appearance. The old gentleman had marched on before, to notify our approach; and on his return, waited for us at another *caravery* on the top of a steep hill, defended by some pieces of cannon.

The crowds that thronged round us, gave abundant proof of the population, and the curiosity of the country; and I was much pleased with the solicitude of the old general to gratify it, by frequent orders to his people to fall back and display our little party, especially the sepoys, who were very fine fellows, and made a most respectable appearance. Mr. CHERECH acquitted himself on this, as on every occasion,

caſion, with the moſt ſucceſſful activity and attention.

We ſoon arrived at Candy, which we found of better appearance, and more regularly built, than any Indian town I had yet ſeen. The principal ſtreet through which we marched, is very broad; and though the houſes in general have but one ſtory, they appear to have two, from the number of ſteps running up ſideways and cloſe to the wall of the houſe, ſo that the door is at leaſt the height of a ſtory from the ſtreet. This manner of building, it ſeems, is to avoid the miſchiefs, which the elephant-fights, celebrated in this great ſtreet for his Maſteſty's amuſement, would otherwiſe do to their houſes.

After advancing about a quarter of a mile along this ſtreet, we turned round the angle of a conſiderable incloſure with a ſtone wall, which I learned was the royal garden. This was on our left hand, and when we turned the next corner, we ſaw the palace on our right; a large ſtone building, with ſixteen large ſtone ſteps leading up to the entrance, at each ſide of which

was placed a bowman; two huge fellows, fantastically dressed. At the head of the steps stood some of their officers, natives and malays; and the whole area below, which was very spacious and open, was filled with their soldiers and elephants, of which there were between forty and fifty drawn up in a semicircle, and two very fine white ones in the centre. The old general took frequent opportunities of hinting to me, that there was much greater display, on this occasion, than had ever been on any other; and was very solicitous to know what impression this unusual magnificence made upon me; of which I acknowledged my sense and admiration in strong terms, and very much to his satisfaction.

We halted here some time, till further permission should be sent us from the palace to approach. In the mean time it was notified to me, that none of my people were to be admitted to the audience, but my interpreter. I was very desirous that Mr. CHERECH and my writer should accompany me; but could not gain permission. They were, however, admitted through the
first

first gate at the head of the stairs, which we now ascended, and were conducted into a large court.

At the bottom of this court a door opened, through which the minister and four generals* advanced to receive me. After some ceremonious compliments and inquiries, the minister retired to announce our arrival so far; but soon returning, with final permission for us to advance, he then, (with the generals) conducted me and my interpreter through the door he had come through at first, into a very spacious inner court, partly covered and partly open, well paved with broad flat stone. Along all the sides of this court were ranged a great number of persons, officers and attendants as it should seem, of the palace. We advanced to the centre of this large area; till facing about to the right, we fronted a very wide and high arch, spread across with a white curtain.

* Those who have been mentioned, in a former note, as the principal; except the *Mauthelay* general, who was absent.

Here were to commence the labours of the ceremony. The silver salver, with the letters, was brought, and the minister gave it to me to hold as before, with my hands above my head. Even to a man in perfect strength, it were an uneasy attitude to support such a weight so long. But to me, at that time, it was a most distressing fatigue. Observing this, however, he assisted me, and one of the generals on the other side, by putting their hands to it; telling me at the same time as another instance of attention to my situation, that the King had dispensed with the custom usual on these occasions, of the shoes being taken off, and that I might keep mine on.

The curtain was now removed, and discovered to our view a long hall, almost covered with a fine large carpet; the ceiling, divided by arches, that extended from side to side, large ones in the centre, and two small ones on each side. These arches, and two rows of pillars that supported them, and formed two ailes, to the right and left, were very prettily adorned with festoons of muslins, &c. of various colours. Within
the

the pillars were ranged the courtiers, sitting, in their fashion, on their heels; not with their legs crossed, as I have seen in the Carnatic, but in a more difficult and painful posture to those not used to it, with the knees projecting straight forward. The hall was well lighted by lamps attached to the pillars, and very large wax lights * at the upper end of each aisle; near one of which sat the secretary, my old friend of *Nallendy-Caravery*, with his secreterial implements, to note what should pass. The whole terminated in a large alcove, retired within which was a very high throne, and his Majesty seated on it with much solemnity. There seemed a sort of studied obscurity; as if he desired, though without having studied MILTON, "with the majesty of darkness around" to "cover his throne." He is about thirty-six or thirty-seven years of age, of a grand majestic appearance; a very large man, and very black, but of an open intelligent countenance, as I found after-

* I did not find, on inquiry, that the lights for the royal use, are perfumed with the oil of cinnamon, as mentioned by RAYNAL, and others.

wards on a nearer approach. On the whole, his figure and attitude put me much in mind of our HARRY the Eighth. He wore a large crown, which is a very important distinction * from the other princes of the East †.

The removal of the curtain was the signal for our obeisances. Mine, by stipulation, was to be only kneeling,—still with the salver over my head, which became almost intolerably fatiguing. My companions immediately began the performance of theirs, which were in the most perfect degree of eastern humiliation. They almost literally licked the dust; prostrating themselves with their faces close to the stone floor, and throwing out their legs and arms, as in the attitude of swimming, then rising to their knees by a

* Among the multitude of his titles, it is a distinguishing one, “The King who wears a crown.” In one of our conferences, some of the generals asked me “whether the King of England wore a crown?”

† The whole of this description pretty nearly accords with the account given by BALDÆUS, of the reception of the Dutch general GERARD HULST, in the year 1656, in the reign of *Rajah Singah*, King of Candy §.

§ See BALDÆUS's *History of Ceylon*.

sudden spring from the breast, like what is called the falmon-leap by tumblers, they repeated, in a very loud voice, a certain form of words, of the most extravagant meaning that can be conceived, "That the " head of the king of kings * might reach " beyond the sun! that he might live a " hundred thousand years," &c. He answered very gravely, that we might advance, which we accordingly did, much to my satisfaction, but not till the aforesaid concert had been repeated half a dozen times.

On our entry into the hall, by the ascent of two or three high steps, we had it all to do and to suffer over again, they repeating their extraordinary obeisances six times, and I kneeling:—and then a third time, when we arrived at the carpet, which reached within about ten yards of the door. These three acts being over, I was conducted up the centre of the hall to the throne, by the minister on one side, and a general on the other; I then knelt on the lowest step, still supporting my burthen, but with infinite

* One of the titles of the King of Candy.

difficulty, in the same irksome posture. I was now relieved from it by his Majesty's taking the letters, and had an opportunity of observing his figure as I have described it, and his dress, which was more magnificent than I expected; but surprisingly warm for the climate of Candy. But the temperature of courts, I am afraid, is the same in all parts of the world; "where cumbrous pomp and vanity preside!"

It not being the custom at this court to read letters at the time they are presented, the King laid them aside, and I retired in the same manner between my two conductors, keeping my face towards the throne. We found the other generals at the end of the carpet, where they sat down, in their manner; but told me, I might stretch out my legs, provided I kept them as much on one side, and out of sight, as possible. I was seated in the middle, two generals on each side of me, and the interpreters a little behind us. Then began our conversation, which, as I apprehended, was only form; but there being no less than five stages betwixt his Majesty and me, it was incredibly tedious.

He

He spoke to his minister, who knelt at the upper end of the hall, near the throne;—the minister to one of the generals;—the general to their interpreter;—their interpreter to mine in Malabar;—and mine to me in English: and my answers, of course, had the same journey to travel back again.

He began with inquiring when I had left Madras, and in what capacity? When I answered him, that I had the honour of being invested with the office of bringing letters to his Highness, and of treating with him on the most friendly grounds on behalf of the Madras government, he expressed the highest satisfaction at this testimony of friendly disposition in the Governor of Madras. He then asked particularly about his health, —then of the Members of the Council,—of the Admiral and Gentlemen of the fleet, &c. —When he inquired about my own, and the fatigues of my journey, I took the opportunity, of attempting at least, to turn the discourse to business, and told him, that I certainly had been extremely fatigued, and much indisposed in health, but that I had advanced, notwithstanding, with the utmost expedition ;

expedition; the business I was charged with being of the most urgent nature, and most critically circumstanced as to time, and that I therefore hoped we might proceed on it immediately.

I suspect that the latter part of what I said, lost something in the *Cingalese* channels it passed through. For his Highness, without taking the least notice of it, proceeded to ask me, whether I wished to retire, or had any thing further to mention to him?

I answered, that I had much to state to him and to discuss, repeating the necessity of proceeding immediately; and was going on to represent, in the first place, the subject I had discussed before with some of the courtiers at *Gunnoor*, of the hostile orders which had been issued against any communication with the English: but the general * on my right hand stopped me, telling me that the King expected I should now retire; but that he and the other generals would adjourn with

* He was the governor of *Halcoraluy* district, including *Columbo*, &c. see former note.—This they esteem the most important command; and the general who holds it usually succeeds to the post of prime minister.

me immediately to another place, and there hear whatever I had to propose.

I would rather have continued in the direct line to his Majesty; but seeing that a hint of his pleasure was to be law, and considering too, that what I had to urge would come with greater propriety and effect after the letter was read, I accepted the necessity of retiring, with the best grace I could. We all got up accordingly, and retired as we had advanced, I kneeling, and they tumbling as before*: and when we had performed our three acts again, the curtain dropped.

According to the promise of conference, the minister and generals then conducted

* This, performed in the manner I have described, one would imagine as abject an instance of humiliation as could be given. But during the audience, one occurred, which surprized me still more. Something happened, that made it necessary for the minister to come to the lower end of the hall. I did not observe him set out; but turning my head by accident, I cannot express my surprize when I saw him, a venerable grey-headed old man, come trotting down one of the ailes like a dog!—on all-fours! He returned in the same manner to the foot of the throne.

me

me across the first court we had come through, upon a high flight of stairs, to a very low gallery. Here they left me, promising to return soon. I had desired that Mr. CHERECH might come in the mean time, and he and I sat down at the upper end of our long room on a bench prepared, to the collation which was brought us, in separate trays, of fruit, sweetmeats, spices, &c. and some bread, but very ill baked, and coarse and heavy. There were also separate rations for Moss, my writer, and my interpreter, PERMAUL.

Almost an hour elapsed before my ministerial friends returned.—We then proceeded to our conference, standing, as is indispensable, on any business of the King.

I began with calling their attention to the universal character and conduct of the English in India; and according to the instructions I had received, endeavoured to impress them in the most forcible manner in my power, with a conviction of our unshaken firmness and fidelity to our allies. Having obtained their assent to this representation, I urged to the minister that we should proceed immediately

immediately to business. He asked me what particular proposals I had to make? I told him, that it was necessary, in the first instance, to accept and establish on the part of the King, the general ground of friendship and alliance, which had been proposed by the Governor of Madras. For that, and some particulars also, I referred him to the letter I had brought; and that when I understood his Highness's acceptance and assent, I would instantly go upon every particular that should be necessary. He replied, that the letter had not yet been read; (a political fib, certainly, of the old gentleman, which I could not but construe as a bad omen; for it must have been read and considered in that long interval during which he had left me) but that it should immediately, and not a moment be lost: that some of the generals should attend me in two or three days at farthest, to discuss any points that might arise, and that I might depend on another audience immediately after.

From the whole complexion of affairs, I had a presentiment not the most favourable, which made me the more desirous for precision.

sion. I told him, that as we had expressly adjourned to this conference, I concluded he had been invested with powers of conferring to some effect; but that as it appeared he had not read the letter, I would state the principal points of it to him, for his more clear conception of the business. That it proposed a treaty of firm friendship and alliance between his Highness of Candy, and the English in India;—that it promised the most effectual assistance that the English could contribute to vindicate the rights of his Highness against the usurpations of the Dutch, and to protect them in future against them and all other enemies;—that it required a liberal supply of provisions and every friendly intercourse from the country to the English at *Trincomallée*, or elsewhere;—and that it referred his Highness to me, for the explanation and arrangement of all matters tending to the mutual and just interests of both parties.

I repeated to him in particular, as I had done to my visitors at *Gunnoor*, the necessity of instantly repealing the orders which had been issued against communication with the English;

English; as it was a preliminary, without which, I could not proceed in my negotiation. After giving me a solemn promise to that effect, and his repeated assurance also that no time should be lost, but that I should have another audience as soon as possible, and for that purpose, that some of the generals should attend me in the mean time, he concluded with telling me, I might depend also on the point being complied with, which I had insisted on at *Gunnoor*, relative to the sepoy's left at *Nallendy-Caravery*; and that orders should be immediately sent to secure them provisions and accommodations for their march to *Trincomallée*.

It was by this time near two o'clock: and having ascertained matters as particularly as the policy of the old minister would permit, I was glad to take my leave of him. The courtier, who had accompanied the old secretary to *Nallendy-Caravery*, was appointed to conduct me back to *Gunnoor*, where we arrived before four in the morning, in the same manner we had left it; and notwithstanding my extreme fatigue and weakness, with

with the same necessity of walking the mile and a half I had before done, within the hallowed precinct of Candy.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 7th.—A visit this morning from my two neighbours, to inquire about health &c. of which I could give them but a very infirm account. I remonstrated about the neglect of provisions, which were very scanty. They promised to supply us better.

I was very glad to see the interpreter arrive this evening; (our acquaintance, I mean, of *Nallendy-Caravery*: last night was another that officiated :) I desired PRAMAUL to improve acquaintance with him as much as possible, and cultivate the friendly disposition he seemed desirous to shew us. He gave a very favourable account of the audience; and undertook the management of

of a subject PERMAUL and I had been just discussing:—the presenting to the ministers and generals a few pieces of gold and silver muslin, I had procured on the coast for the purpose, having heard they were very fond of dress both for themselves and their women. He said it was necessary first to obtain their permission, and that he would let me know to-morrow, with speed, the particulars, as I pressed him, towards the promised visit from the generals.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 8th.—The interpreter returned early according to promise, with a polite and thankful answer from the minister, on the subject of the presents intended him and the generals; but declining them, as being immediately on the King's business, on which it is absolutely prohibited to receive any thing; and observing, that it was incumbent

on them to give presents to me, rather than take them from me: but on the whole it seemed to have a good effect.

On the important subject of proceeding on business, he told me the court was perfectly disposed to the speediest dispatch; and that he was sure I should only be detained a few days more for my next audience, and that the generals would come to-morrow. This was very satisfactory, and I enjoyed my evening's walk the more agreeably, though I was able to take only a very short one. The country is extremely beautiful and various, and well cultivated.

MARCH 9th.—In the morning about ten o'clock I received intelligence, that the deputation from court was arrived at the other side of the river, and that I was expected on my side to receive them. It was exceedingly hot, but I knew the necessity of their forms, and proceeded accordingly. They excused me, however, from going down the steep broken steps to the river side. I received, at the pagoda, on the brow of the hill, the three principal generals, and the old secre-

tary, and conducted them to our great veranda of conference.

I perceived from the respectability of this deputation, and the writing apparatus that the interpreter brought with him, that this was to be a visit of some consequence. The people who thronged about the veranda, were accordingly ordered to a distance; and after the usual inquiries and compliments, we took our seats in great form.

I told them, I was extremely happy to find their sentiments coincide with my own towards expediting the important business I was charged with; that being, I concluded, the object of their present visit, in pursuance of the assurances I had received from them and the minister. That the revocation which had been promised, of the hostile orders against the English, being an essential preliminary, I desired to know whether it had been issued?

The principal general assured me it had: but there was something in his manner and the looks of the others which gave me some suspicion.—I asked, when? and what other orders had been sent? (for they promised

me to send permission for the supply of *Trincomallée*, and that all letters from thence should be forwarded to me without farther interruption; and that my people, MAHOMMED COSSIM, SOLYMAN, and a few others, and my horse, might be permitted to come on from *Nallendy-Caravery*; and that the sepoy's intended to return, should be immediately dispatched from thence with provisions.) The hesitation in his answer, as to the time and these particulars, confirmed my suspicion; however, I thought proper to dissemble then, and to seem satisfied, believing that the delay proceeded from their usual slowness, and their falsehood from their being ashamed of it *.

As I now hoped they would proceed on the letter I had brought, I was going on to the explanation of the most important points, when the general told me they had not yet any instructions to enter on those particulars, and desired I would explain to

* So I found afterwards, in effect; and that the requisite orders were sent next morning, in consequence of the strong manner in which I then inquired into the subject.

them on what principle the English thought themselves justifiable in making war on the Dutch, who had always been such good friends to them, especially in attacking them in this country, without any notice of hostilities, and without any communication with the King.

I expressed my surprize at their not having powers to enter on the contents of the letter, as had been promised; but from their manner of putting the questions, and some intelligence I had obtained a day or two before, of the Dutch ambassador having effected a communication with the court, from his halting place on the road, where he still remained, waiting my departure, I apprehended some new obstacle might have arisen. I determined, therefore, to satisfy them in the most complying manner possible.

This I had the good fortune to do pretty successfully, by explaining the origin of the war, commenced, in fact, by our *good friends* the Dutch, against the King of England, assisting his subjects who had taken up arms against him. This particular, as the
most

most atrocious in their eyes, I stated in the strongest terms I could, and the ingratitude of the Dutch for all the obligations and support they had always received from England.

Their curiosity on this subject was very inquisitive, especially about America, which they had never heard of. I gave them all the particulars I thought necessary towards making the most favourable impression; and was glad that every thing was taken down in writing, that the King might have the more certain opportunity of seeing and considering it distinctly.

Their curiosity being also satisfied as to the power of England, and the justice also of her war with France on the same principle, they asked many questions about the French power and government. They knew, also, of our war with Spain; and naturally enough insinuated, that it appeared we were rather too fond of war, having so many hostilities on our hands at once. But they admitted, as I stated to them, that it was more a proof of our being strong, than wrong; and that our enemies,
united

united as they were, were yet inferior to the power they envied, even with the assistance of the Americans whom they contributed to seduce: that we had destroyed the navy of France last war: that our London (for they were very inquisitive about our *great cities*) was much more flourishing and rich in trade, &c. than their capital, Paris: with many minute particulars that they inquired about.

Their civility travelled all over Europe; particularly to Portugal, which they were surprised they now heard nothing of. Portugal put them in mind of religion; and they returned to England, to hope that the same religion was not professed there as among the Portuguese. I satisfied them on this head, that the English church was the mildest and most tolerant in Europe.

After some general answers as to the powers there, for they were much pleased with information as to all *, we concluded
this

* And as to the state of politicks on the coast also. The Rajah of Tanjore stands pretty well with them; but the Nabob is by no means a favourite, except with the
Choliar

this long *political* conference at near four o'clock.

They very politely dispensed with my re-attending them to the river; and promised to expedite my next audience, for proceeding on business, as speedily as possible.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 10, 11, 12, 13th.—Four days passed without any thing remarkable. Constant inquiries about us from court; and visits now and then from our friend the interpreter, which I encouraged as much as I could, to obtain all possible information from him. He was of the race of *Vaddahs**, as

Choliar tribe, who are Mahomedans; and equally, on that account, perhaps, out of favour at court. They spoke of the Nabob's ambition, invading Tanjore, &c.

* "This race of people," says Mr. KNOX, "are called "*Vaddahs*, dwelling in the woods, near no other inhabitants.

as he pronounced it, who are called *Bedas*,
in some descriptions of this island : a people
towards

" tants. They speak the *Cingalese* language. They kill
" deer, and dry the flesh over the fire, and the people of
" the country come and buy it of them. They never till
" any ground for corn, their food being only flesh. They
" are very expert with their bows. They have a little ax,
" which they stick in by their sides, to cut honey out of
" hollow trees. Some few of them have commerce with
" the *Cingalese*. They have no towns, nor houses, only
" live by the waters under a tree, with some boughs
" cut and laid round about them, to give notice when
" any wild beasts come near, which they may hear by
" their rustling and trampling upon them. Some of the
" more civilized of these people are under a kind of sub-
" jection to the King.

" They never cut their hair, but tie it up on their
" crowns in a bunch. The cloth they use, is not broad
" nor large, scarcely enough to cover their buttocks.

" The *wilder* and *tamer* sort of them do both observe a
" religion. They have a God peculiar to themselves.
" The *tamer* do build temples, the *wild* only bring their
" sacrifices under trees ; and while it is offering, dance
" round it, both men and women.

" For portions with their daughters in marriage, they
" give hunting-dogs. They are reported to be courteous.
" Some of the *Cingalese*, in discontent, will leave their
" houses and friends, and go and live among them, where
" they are civilly entertained. The *tamer* sort of them,
" as hath been said, will sometimes appear, and hold trade
" with

towards the north and north-east of it, differing in some religious customs and dress from the *Cingalese*, but speaking the same language; less civilized, he confessed, but more open and sincere, he asserted, perhaps in aid of his own veracity, and braver: independent, but in general on good terms with the government. From living in the neighbourhood of *Trincomallée*, he acquired the *Malabar* language perfectly, and so became recommended as one of the interpreters at Candy, where I understood he was a favourite.

He told me, that though the politicks of Candy be still rather unfavourable to the Dutch, they are not so much so as before the late King's death, (about three weeks before I went up). Since that event, some of those whom the Dutch had formerly been able to gain, had attempted some intrigues in their favour, to which the death of the late minister had unfortunately afforded some facility and success: that the present King,

"with the *Cingalese*; but the wilder sort, called *Ramba*
"*Vuddahs*, never shew themselves." KNOX on Ceylon,
p. 62.

above

above twenty years younger than his late brother, had not been in particular favour or harmony with him : and as to the English, that never having had any personal opportunity of intercourse, he had been the more liable to be misled and prepossessed against them, especially at the commencement of his reign ; and though his power appeared perfectly despotick, and when exerted, was so in fact, yet from the mode of conducting every political business, through so many channels, and from the great delegated power of the generals throughout their districts, they had great authority and influence. That unfortunately for us, the principal of them (of *Yalcoralay*) had been one of those inclined to the Dutch ; that to these causes, and the gross misrepresentations made of our conduct and designs, were to be imputed the obstacles we had encountered ; which, however, were now entirely at an end ; for that, from our conduct since we came into the country, and the explanations we had given them both at *Nallendy-Caravery*, and here, the King himself, (whom they reckon a more able and enterprising

prising man than his late brother) and those about him, were perfectly undeceived and satisfied in our favour.

This intelligence was the more satisfactory, and the less to be suspected of artifice, as it seemed by no means premeditated, but was rather extracted in accidental conversations from our friend the interpreter.

I was, however, much surprized at the delay of my second audience; till on the 13th I received an answer from the minister relative to that and some secondary matters on which I had applied to him. The important point of my going again to Candy, he sent me word, was fixed for the next day; but as to other particulars I had requested, of my horse being sent to me from *Nallendy-Caravery*, MAHOMMED, and others who were there, to be permitted to come on to me, my letters to be forwarded, and the sepoy, who I found were yet detained at *Nallendy-Caravery*, to be dispatched from thence with provisions as promised, to *Trincomallée*; as to these particulars he gave me to understand, that the speedy conclusion of my business at Candy, would render them

them unnecessary.—He accompanied his message with a very welcome present of some large pieces of wild boar and elk; the latter especially was remarkably good; very like beef, but of a still finer grain and flavour.

Gunnoor to Candy.

MARCH 14th.—About seven o'clock in the evening, the arrival of the general who was to conduct me, was announced. I advanced, as usual, to the river, where he waited on the opposite side till he saw me approach, and then crossed, with a very numerous train of firelocks, lights, musick, &c. the rains that continued, swelled the river, and the boating backwards and forwards was very tedious. I was glad to find it was my old acquaintance, who had been sent to escort me from *Nallendy*. After the troublesome ceremony of conducting him to my quarters, we returned, and proceeded towards

towards the capital in the same order and pomp as on the former occasion: the same indulgence of a dooley being permitted to me to the same distance, within a mile or a little more of Candy. I was obliged to wait above an hour at the house prepared for me there, before notice was sent to us to advance. Walking was very disagreeable, from the heaviness of the rain, and softness of the ground. The general was posted to receive us at the *caravery*, on the steep rising ground, a few hundred yards from where we had stopped; and we proceeded with the same pomp as before, and notwithstanding the rain, prodigious multitudes of people assembled to see us.

When we came before the palace, where elephants were drawn up as before, the general sent to notify our arrival, and to obtain permission, on my request, for Mr. CHERECH to see his Highness. (This was granted, and for my debase also, but not to come into the *sanctum sanctorum* of audience. After the business was over, they were admitted to the large outer court; and the curtain being drawn up, to make their

their obeisances at a most respectful distance from his Majesty, whom they could hardly see.)

I was received, as before, by the minister and four generals; and after an exact repetition of the former fatiguing ceremonies, was at last admitted into the hall of audience, and seated on the distant end of the carpet, the generals on each side of me, with our friend the interpreter, who, I was glad to find, was to officiate on this occasion, and the minister on both his knees at the foot of the throne.

The ceremonious questions of health, &c. being finished, his Majesty began business with telling me, that the letter of the Governor of Madras had given him the greatest satisfaction; that he had considered it with equal pleasure and attention, and agreed entirely with all the sentiments contained in it; that he had expressed himself fully in the answer which was prepared to it, but desired besides, that I would have it from his own mouth, and communicate to the Governor and Council of Madras, in the strongest manner, his friendly disposition towards

towards the English,—his happiness in the overtures now made to him; with some compliments to the manner our business had been conducted in,—and his wishes to cultivate the most friendly correspondence. He said, in conclusion, that the answer to the Governor's letter, and presents for him, would be sent on to *Allwalay*, where they would meet me, and recommend them to my care very particularly.

I assured him, as strongly as I could, of the mutual satisfaction the Governor and Council of Madras would feel from the friendly disposition of his Highness; that they were ready to testify theirs by every proof in their power, according to the sincerity and good faith always observed by the English in their negotiations; that it was for that purpose I had the honour of coming on their part to his Highness; that as he had so strongly expressed his entire agreement with the sentiments of the letter I had brought, I hoped we should immediately proceed to establish the first ground proposed therein, a firm union between his Highness and the English, and immediately

ately act in concert. He answered, that he possessed those sentiments as strongly as possible, and that he was equally convinced of the sentiments of the English; that they were expressed fully on his part in the letter, which, with the presents, should meet me at *Allwalay*. That as I had expressed so much desire for expedition, he had used every possible dispatch in preparing them; that now therefore there would be no further delay, and that orders were issued for proper accommodations and attendance on my return.

I thanked him for his attention; but was sorry to find my apprehension verified of the business being suspended at this stage. Wishing, therefore, if possible, to procure further conference, in order to something more explicit and essential, I observed, that the expedition I had been so anxious for, was to proceed on our business, to form a strict union and friendship with his Highness, and to act together against his enemies and ours, according to the letter I had the honour of bringing him; that the English were ready to assist and act with him; and as he agreed

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intirely with the contents of the letter, would expect his assistance and co-operation with them.

The generals here told me, as at the former audience, that as to the discussion of particulars, they and the minister would confer with me after the audience; but that as his Highness had said there was to be now no further delay, it was proper to retire; and they gave directions for the presents intended for me to be brought in.

Finding that a hint from the throne was a sentence without appeal, I was obliged to compromise for the subordinate conference they promised me: on the subject of presents, however, as the King had twice recommended to me in a very particular manner, those for the Governor, I thought it necessary to explain to him what I knew to be the Governor's sentiments.

It would not be easy to conceive the surprise of the Candy courtiers, at hearing of presents being declined. Distinctions between duty and interest were as new to their imaginations as their practice, and it was in vain to urge to his Majesty, that as they had

had their customs and laws, so we had ours ; that Governors of English settlements had appointments by law, adequate to their high rank ; that as it was their duty, so it was the determined resolution of the Governor of Madras, to decline all additional emoluments, either by present or otherwise ; to be biaſſed by no personal conſideration of intereſt, and to direct the whole attention of government to the advantage of their country and their allies.

He answered, it was their cuſtom both to receive and to give preſents : that as he had received thoſe I had brought, he expected the Governor of Madras would receive his :—otherwiſe he would be under the neceſſity of returning thoſe the Governor had ſent him. This, I knew, would be a dangerous wound to the frienſhip of our intercourſe ; and was not ſorry, therefore, when the generals prevented my reply by telling me, we might diſcuſs that point, with the others, preſently.

The preſents for me were then brought in, and given to me in great form as I ſat on the floor. The miniſter, after coming

down on all-fours from the throne, put a gold chain on my neck, of Candy workmanship, as were all the rest, and very tolerable; a large sword, with silver wrought in the handle, and very heavy; a knife, and very large scissars of curious form; chunam-boxes of silver, and some little trinkets; and a ring, which he put on my finger,—a large green stone, but of little value; with a piece of silk, and two of white cloth.

These ceremonies finished, the King told me he would detain me no longer than by some questions relative to myself,—where I was born?—how old I was?—what was my rank?—was I married?—had I children?—&c. My answers to these important particulars being entered on their records, by the secretaries, with as much formality as if they were to decide the fate of Asia, I took my leave in the usual fatiguing forms, repeated twice in the great hall, and then in the outer court, of bowing, kneeling, salmoning, &c.

I was then conducted by one of the generals, to the long and high gallery where I had been before, at the lower end of the first court, where a collation of sweetmeats,
spices,

spices, &c. was provided as before. At last, after a very tedious hour of waiting, the minister, the four generals *, and interpreter arrived.

The minister began with explaining the particulars of the letter I was to take, in answer to the one I had brought. He told me, as the King had expressed, that it contained the strongest assurances of the friendly disposition of his Majesty towards the English; that it expressed his anxious desire to establish a connection and alliance, as proposed by the government of Madras;—but that to make the alliance sufficiently firm, and sufficiently respectable for him to accede to, it would be necessary to procure to it the sanction of the King of England,

* It was remarkable, that the general of the *Mauthela* district, with whom I had so much intercourse at first by message, and expected to have met as I advanced, never made his appearance when I was at court, nor at any of the conferences. As well as I could collect by inquiry, I found there was a jealousy and rivalry between him and the others,—probably for the post of prime minister, for the present old man was only *locum tenens*. The absence of the *Mauthela* general was a loss to us, for he was much a friend to the English.

—signified *under his own hand*; when that should arrive, that the King of Candy would agree to every proposition that could be made for the strictest union and co-operation with the English arms and interests;—and that in the mean time they might depend on his favourable disposition, and friendly services.

The measure was taken, the letter written, and the business evidently concluded. It was necessary, however, to rectify their judgment on this point, on which the delay was founded, as well as to ascertain the friendly ground we had made.

I expressed accordingly, the greatest satisfaction at the friendly sentiments of his Highness; and explained how unnecessary and prejudicial to our mutual interests might be their delay, in supposing the immediate sanction of the King of England necessary to the alliance proposed; that the government of Madras was completely competent to conclude it, and equally ready and able to act instantly in consequence towards carrying into execution all points that should be agreed on. For the good faith also of our
govern-

ments, as well as full power to form and support alliances, I appealed to the known character and conduct of the English in India. I could not avoid expressing, therefore, my surprize at this unprecedented delay, in a crisis that required the utmost dispatch:—supposing, however, that it arose merely from inattention and mistake, now that I had explained the subject to them, I hoped the idea would be withdrawn, and that a treaty of alliance, and the most vigorous measures in consequence, might be proceeded upon, with as little delay as possible, according to the mutual friendly dispositions of his Highness and the government of Madras.

They seemed to be somewhat struck with this remonstrance, and said they would go and report it to his Highness, and return to me immediately.

They did so in about half an hour: the minister then began a long harangue. He detailed the particulars of Mr. PYBUS's negociation with them above twenty years ago, and complained of its having had no consequence in their favour; that the government

ment of Madras had at that time deputed that gentleman with offers of friendship, which had been answered by them in a friendly manner;—but that on his return to Madras, the business, instead of being proceeded on effectually as they expected, seemed to have been entirely dropped, and from that time to this they had never heard a syllable on the subject; that this departure from a negotiation so friendly begun, had surprized and disappointed them very much, especially as they had then particular reason to turn their attention to it, being on the eve of a rupture with the Dutch;—that when that rupture took place, they were obliged to support it themselves, without any assistance, or even communication, from Madras; but that now, when a rupture had happened *between the Dutch and us*, the communication was renewed! That these circumstances could not but induce them to think, that our attention to their interest was governed only by adherence to our own.—That, however, the King was extremely happy in the friendly offers I had brought, and the assurances I had given him; that he

he desired again that I would represent his friendly sentiments in the strongest terms at Madras; but as to concluding an actual treaty, he must adhere to what was required in the letter, that the proposal should come to him from the King of England himself.

This representation the minister spun out to great length; especially his animadversions on the total neglect, and their disappointment in consequence, of what they had been induced to expect, from Mr. PYBUS's mission. Finding that to be the stumbling-block, and the only one, (for the other points of fear or suspicion of our intentions, which had impeded us at first, were now intirely removed) I reminded him of the distinction * themselves had made to me at *Nallendy-Caravery*, between that expedition and mine, which I still farther explained to him, my powers being publick, and the object of my embassy explicitly

* The old secretary, who was sent to meet me there, had argued relative to some *tedious* honours which they insisted on shewing, that my mission was in a very different style from that of the former, which he said had been only a stolen and wandering sort of business.

defined;

defined; relating, as strongly as I could, the complete competency of the governments in India, according to their acknowledged powers and universal usage. This point I endeavoured to enforce as fully as possible, to weaken the same argument of delay that might be urged on any similar occasion. For the present, their party was taken,—to insist on the royal sanction of England.

The minister then, in explaining more fully than at the durbar the answer prepared to the Governor of Madras (professions of friendship, and desire to cultivate correspondence) told me, there was one particular relative to that letter, which it was necessary to advertise me of; that it was written not by the King, but by him the minister; that this was the custom of their court in all their correspondence, and that these customs were inviolable.

On my expressing my surprize at this very singular custom and claim, so different from the usage of the greatest powers in India, in transactions with the English governments, and signifying that I should have wished to have had that particular commu-

nicated to me sooner, respecting their customs, as I did, that I might have had opportunity of examining and considering this extraordinary one.

He said, it had always been sacredly observed in their transactions, both with the powers of India and Europe. Here he enumerated an amazing long list of courts, which he said had all commenced negociation, by applying to the King of Candy for his friendship; which applications had been answered on the part of the King, by his ministers. In particular, he instanced a French ambaffador, last century, who talking highly of the dignity of his King, had refused at first to accept of the minister's answer, but at last found it necessary in compliance with their customs: however, such was the respect of his King for the English nation, that when he should receive a letter from the King of England, he would wave the venerable privilege hitherto maintained by the Majesty of Candy, and answer it himself.

After the presents intended for the Governor of Madras, which, with the letter,
were

were to meet me at *Allwalay*, on my return, I explained fully the Governor's sentiments on that subject, and had the good fortune of enforcing approbation from a hackneyed black politician (and he was really a very acute old man) of sentiments and conduct so correct. Understanding, however, that the presents were of very small value, and that the refusal of them would be of great mischief, I told him at last, very much to his satisfaction, that the presents appearing from his explanation not to be of considerable value, and the acceptance of them, therefore, not contrary to the true spirit of our laws and duty, the Governor would be happy to receive them merely as marks of friendship from the King; and to testify in every instance that his duty would permit, his inclination to cultivate and improve the most friendly correspondence.

MARCH 15th.—It was now growing very late, or rather very far advanced into the morning, and the old minister grew extremely anxious to conclude before it should become too light for the accustomed obscurity

rity of Candy. Desirous, however, on my part, to leave the most effectual impression in this our last conference, relative to the important and immediate point of supply of our troops at *Trincomallée*, and fleet when it should arrive, I recalled his attention to that subject; and urged it with all the solemnity and force in my power, not only for the present, but a constant and regular supply; as the absolutely essential proof of that friendly disposition which his Highness had expressed in terms so favourable, and which it would be equally the happiness of the English to cultivate and support on the firmest principles of union.

He answered, with the fullest assurances on this, and every friendly point in their power;—and told me, that a visit from some of the courtiers was intended me at *Gunnoor*, to recapitulate any points that might not have been sufficiently explained, and to arrange particulars for my return. This long conference was at last concluded, to my infinite satisfaction, for weak as I was, I was almost intolerably fatigued with standing so long: I was obliged, however, to walk as usual

usual to the old place of halt, under care of one of the courtiers appointed to attend me to *Gunnoor*, where we arrived about five o'clock in the morning.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 16th.—Having thus ascertained matters as fully and favourably as circumstances would admit, I was happy to find my friends at Candy as much disposed as myself to expedite my return.

For that purpose, and to talk over matters in general, the old secretary and another courtier, came according to promise this evening to *Gunnoor*. This our final conference was in as favourable a train as could be wished, with the fullest assurances of every friendly correspondence. It concluded with their producing the presents intended for the Governor of Madras, in order to satisfy me on that subject, that they were
by

by no means considerable enough in point of value to be looked on in any other light than merely as marks of friendship and compliment *. It was then arranged that we should set out on the 17th. The old secretary, his companion, and the interpreter, being to conduct me as far as *Nallendy-Caravery*. The letter and presents still were appointed to meet us at *Allwalay*, the second stage from hence: I could not discover for what reason, unless to profit of the short and direct road thither; it being still insisted on that I should return by the same roundabout way I had advanced. The necessary number being then adjusted, of bearers †, and people for the baggage, for at their desire I had dismissed my own cooleys from *Nallendy*,

* They were certainly of very small value; of the same kind with those given to me, and differing only in some of the workmanship, the handles of the sword, knife, &c. being wrought with gold instead of silver. There were besides two pieces of silk additional, and some toys wrought with surprising neatness in ivory.

† Though I had retained my palankeen-boys under the denomination of pikemen, they insisted on supplying me with bearers. I would willingly have dispensed with this instance of politeness, which I found a very uneasy one.

—my

—my visitors took their leave, and we set about preparing for our march.

Gunnoor, MARCH 16th.—Compliments and inquiries, and offers of assistance towards packing up, &c. We proceeded in getting ready every thing for our return.

MARCH 17th. From *Gunnoor* to *Ofspoot*, sixteen miles.—This day we set out on our return, but much later than I wished, my conducting friends not arriving from Candy till past twelve o'clock, and then much time was lost in ceremonies of receiving them, &c. From this delay, and badness of road* and bearers, arrived very late at *Ofspoot*, where we found houses and provisions prepared as before, for our reception. The dews were extremely heavy and cold, which affected me very much after the violent heat of the day.

MARCH 18th. From *Ofspoot* to *Allway†*, eighteen miles.—Very late again in

* Some forests of cinnamon and other spices, extremely fresh and fragrant.

† Here I found the letter and presents, as had been appointed.

setting

About half-way we were stopped by two elephants, who met us in a very narrow part of the road. They halted to reconnoitre us, as we did them; one very large in front, and a young one behind him. Our six advanced sepoy, and the havildar, who marched a little before my palankeen, fired on the foremost. The young one immediately retreated; but the first stood with surprising firmness, and certainly received several balls. At last he turned, but without any sign either of fear or rage, slowly enough into the wood, which broke and sunk before him. It seemed as if he thought it not worth his while to advance; and our bullets, I imagine, made no impression either on his side or his courage.

MARCH 19th. From *Allwalay* to *Nal-*
lendy-Caravery, eighteen miles. — Late as
usual, but without any thing remarkable on
the road. To my great surprize, however,
I found the sepoy's still here, not having been
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furnished with provisions, as had been promised me, to proceed to *Trincomallée*. But they had been very well supplied here, and I attributed it rather to a systematick slowness and indolence, than to any unfriendly motive. I was very happy to find here MAHOMMED COSSIM perfectly recovered, and SOLYMAN. My horse and bullocks very well taken care of.

MARCH 20th. From *Nallendy-Caravery* to *Gona*, about seventeen miles.—After a most friendly taking leave of the old secretary, and a mutual promise of correspondence *, he appointed some *Moatyarrs* and *Veraunies* to conduct us the remainder of the way. A neglect in preparations for us, which obliged us to sleep in the road, near some water, but without provisions. I threatened to complain: the *Moatyarrs* were extremely frightened. We were very much disturbed in the night by elephants.

* On my arrival at *Trincomallée*, I kept my promise, and wrote to Candy an account of the first naval engagement, with a present of a gun to the interpreter, as I had also promised.

MARCH

MARCH 21st. To *Gona*, about six miles.
—Arrived here very early, but obliged to stay, cooleys not being provided. I threatened the *Moatyarrs* again, who promised most earnestly there should be no further disappointment. Walked in the evening in the woods, which, with a rocky river running through them, were very beautiful.

MARCH 22d. From *Gona* to *Wishtegall*, twenty-one miles.—I was extremely sorry to find, on my arrival here, that the two men who had supplied me at this place so critically with the one thousand measures of paddy, as I went up, had purchased their twenty pagodas so dearly—*with their lives!* They had actually been put to death in consequence! So hostile were the orders that had been so often mentioned, against any communication with the English! and so cruelly inexorable is disobeyed royalty in this country.

MARCH 23d. From *Wishtegall* to *Permaumadoo*, twenty-six miles.—Obliged to halt a long time in the road, some of our people

were much fatigued, arrived late, and in very bad weather.

MARCH 24th. From *Permaumadoo* to *Tertolay-lake*, on the *Trincomallée* side, fourteen miles.—The road and prospects extremely agreeable, and as I have found in general on my return, the woods cleared away in some of the most difficult passes. Arrived in good time, and a charming moonlight evening, at the house prepared on the borders of *Tertolay-lake*, some miles on the *Trincomallée* side, nearer than where we had stopped in going up. A most delightful situation! But my extreme fatigue and weakness prevented me from enjoying it.

MARCH 25th. From *Tertolay-lake* to *Tumbela-Caumum*, twelve miles.—The severe rain rendered our journey this morning quite disagreeable. We arrived, however, early; and I endeavoured to profit of the remainder part of the day, by establishing a bullock trade with some of the principal inhabitants, under sanction of the friendship we had formed at Candy, and of the revocation

tion that had been effected of the original hostile orders against us.

They came accordingly to my quarters, and seemed very happy to renew the acquaintance we had begun when I first went up; particularly my old talking friend the *verauny*, whom I had first met here. I purchased six bullocks from them on the spot, and bespoke five hundred more to be sent to *Trincomallée*.

MARCH 26th. From *Tumbela-Caumum* to *Trincomallée*, fifteen miles.--Set out very early this morning, and arrived to dinner, having used every possible expedition since leaving Candy, that my extreme illness and weakness would allow, in order to return, or at least to communicate to Madras by the speediest possible opportunity*.

* Little new on my return more than I have remarked, or different from what I have mentioned in going up, except in one very remarkable particular. Many *caravays*, or fortified gates, had been erected in the most difficult passes of the roads. A proof, formidable enough, how fortunate we had been in making our friendly ground good.

Though

Though it was impossible, as you see, to accomplish for the present, the grand object of my mission, an actual alliance with these people, I thought myself very happily successful in rectifying thoroughly, as I hope it will appear I have done, their injurious and hostile conceptions against us, which had produced that fatal prohibition; and in effecting, on the contrary, what is absolutely necessary to our existence in that most important settlement of *Trincomallée*, and to the refreshment and health of our fleet,—an adequate supply from the interior of the country. I trust, therefore, that our situation there, from being extremely distressed and precarious, has become perfectly secure and comfortable.

Annexed is the journal and distance as I computed of each day's march, in our going up to Candy. It may assist the reader's idea of the difficulty of the roads, and the repeated delays to which we were obliged to submit.

TABLE of Times and Distances on my Journey to Candy.

		miles.
1782, Feb.	5, from <i>Trincomallée</i> to <i>Copputtorry</i>	9
	6, from <i>Copputtorry</i> to <i>Tumbela-Caumum</i>	6
	7, from <i>Tumbela-Caumum</i> to <i>Tertolay</i>	16
	8, from <i>Tertolay</i> to <i>Permaumadoo</i>	10
	9, from <i>Permaumadoo</i> to <i>Pulian-Caravery</i>	10
	10, - - Ditto	Ditto
	11, from <i>Pulian-Caravery</i> to <i>Wisttegall</i>	20
	12, - - Ditto	Ditto
	13, from <i>Wisttegall</i> to <i>Rock-River</i>	5
	14, from <i>Rock-River</i> to <i>Gona</i>	16
	15, from <i>Gona</i> to <i>Choultry-Plain</i>	18
	16 to 28, from <i>Choultry-Pl.</i> to <i>Nallendy-Carav.</i>	5
March	1, from <i>Nallendy-Caravery</i> to <i>Allwalay</i>	18
	2, from <i>Allwalay</i> to <i>Ofspost</i>	18
	3 to 5, from <i>Ofspost</i> to <i>Gunnoor</i>	16
	6, from <i>Gunnoor</i> to <i>Candy</i>	5

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TABLE of Times and Distances on my Return.

	miles.
1782, March 15, from Candy to Gunnoor - - -	9
17, from Gunnoor to Ofspoot - - -	16
18, from Ofspoot to Allwalay - - -	18
19, from Allwalay to Nallendy Caravery -	18
20, from Nallendy to near Gona - - -	17
21, to Gona - - -	6
22, from Gona to Wishtegall - - -	21
23, from Wishtegall to Permaumadoo -	26
24, from Permaumadoo to Tertolay-lake	14
25, from Tertolay-lake to Tumbela-Caumum	12
26, from Tumbela-Caumum to Trincomallée	15

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EXTRACT

EXTRACT

OF A

LETTER from Mr. BOYD to a FRIEND;

Giving an Account of his EMBASSY from the Government of Madras, to the King, of Candy, in the Island of Ceylon, in the Year 1782; together with some particulars of his Capture by the French fleet, and of the Islands of *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*.

Isle of Bourbon, Aug. 1, 1782.

MY last letters, my friend, were both to give you an account of the unlucky event, for I allow it to be so, in the first instance, of my having fallen in with the French fleet, on my leaving Ceylon for Madras last April. But I rely on your sympathizing with

with me in philosophy, as well as in every thing else ; for I know so well your admirable resolution and good sense, that I am persuaded they cannot be essentially disturbed by a temporary accident of this nature. Especially when we consider some circumstances attending it ; which not only confirm me in being content, as a man ought to be in every situation, but convince me in some respects that this will have its essential advantages, without any inconveniences, I trust, of long duration, or consequence.

I had fortunately concluded my Ceylon operations, before my French ones commenced ; and with as much success, I flatter myself, it will appear, as the difficulties of the whole business permitted. For indeed it was involved, from first to last, in difficulties of the most serious nature, and of every kind, political and natural. Most unfortunately for our interests in general, and for the accommodation, and safety too, of the *ambassador and his train* in particular, the old King had died a little time before I left *Trincomallée* on my route to Candy. The old gentleman had been long a friend

to

to us; or, what was the same thing, an enemy to the Dutch, with whom he had been engaged in war sixteen or seventeen years ago, and who have been encroaching ever since on his territories. The general politics and interest of the court ought to continue the same; and they have so, in some measure; but the brother who succeeded, not being so much disposed by habit, either against the Dutch or us, but deceived on the contrary by their misrepresentations of our designs, thought it necessary to keep us at as great a distance as possible; and even to prohibit all intercourse or communication whatever between his subjects and us. This interdiction would have been a most fatal distress to our new settlement at *Trincomallée*, and to our fleet, whose only resource has been there, and where communication with the country was absolutely necessary for the essential article of provisions; and it became requisite immediately to have it removed, and a right understanding established. But under those circumstances of prohibition, the means of rectifying matters were difficult in proportion to the necessity. And not only those circum-

circumstances, but the alarming fate of my letter to the King* (of which I think I sent you a copy by the vessel we dispatched last January from *Trincomallée*, with an account of our success there).—It was to notify to his Majesty my business and my approach, and to require his approbation and assistance towards it. But instead, I had the disappointment, and the very unfriendly prospect in consequence, of my letter returning to me unopened, with the flimsy pretext in excuse alleged to my several messengers (for I had not a duplicate, and by some of my most intelligent and consequential people) “that they suspected at Candy, that this was not an application really from an English ambassador, but a Dutch trick to sound, or endeavour to perplex, their politics; similar to one which they said had been attempted some time ago.”—Some wise man says, that however clumsy or futile the apology, it is better to accept it, than dwell on the offence;—I pursued that prudential line, and affected perfect satisfaction in my interview with a Candian messenger,

* See Appendix, Number I.

who arrived two days after the return of mine. He was dispatched, not ostensibly from court, but by one of their principal generals, as their leading men are called, —governor of the district—the *Mauthela-district*, if you should ever travel that country,—in which *Trincomallée* is included. They had heard, in the mean time, some particulars of our force and success, by the return of some previous messengers whom they had sent to *Trincomallée* to observe matters, and whom we had received and entertained as favourably as possible. To this new courier, therefore, even with his subaltern credentials from the general, and foolish additional apologies, and *verbal* only, I appeared perfectly satisfied; and I resolved at once to take what immediate advantage I could of their excuses, and not only to send my rejected letter a second time, but to venture forth myself; not in *quest* of adventures, like a certain famous gentleman, but worse circumstanced, though less romantically, I hope, than that adventurous knight,—with a certainty of encountering many, equally difficult and dangerous.

On

On the 5th of February I took the field, a-la-militaire, with a very fine company of grenadiers, sepoy, from *Trincomallée*; sixty-three in all, with their black officers, and Mr. CHERECH who commanded them, and was the only white face, with that of your humble servant, in the whole party. The rest of my suite consisted of my clerk, my debash (the term here for the black gentleman who transacts all business for you), with our palankeen and * dooley-bearers; besides these bearers, we had the bearers of our baggage, cooleys they call them; so that with servants of all kinds, for show as well as use, chubdars, peons, &c. nor forgetting the cooks and their kitchen-train, we were in all an hundred and seventy-three. But I have got into my Ceylon history all at once, more circumstantially than I intended; and as the *consequence* of it is at present at least more interesting to us, let us skip over, in the mean time, the adventures of the ambassador, and come to the situation of the prisoner. It has been all along ren-

The dooley is an inferior sort of palankeen.

dered

dered as little irksome as possible, by the very polite, and in some essential particulars, very friendly attention I have met with. Particularly in the first instance, from Captain DE SALVERT, of La Fin frigate, by whom I was taken, the 10th of April, the second day after I left Ceylon. I had returned from my Candy expedition the 26th of March, and had some hopes that the French fleet had been obliged to leave the coast after the first engagement on the 17th of February, as there had been no intelligence of them at *Trincomallée* all that time. But even if they should be on the coast, it was certain they would be to the southward of Madras, and we calculated, that by standing to the eastward, we should get round them, and make Madras very safely. Unfortunately the wind disappointed our calculation, and failing us intirely, and most unusually at that season, left us close to the French squadron, the second morning at day-break, off the coast of Ceylon. They were attending, or as they called it, chafing, the English fleet, and the two squadrons had been in fight of each other

other for some days. But the fact was, simply, that Sir EDWARD HUGHES was waiting only to gain some advantages of wind and situation, and by no means declining the combat; as appeared fully, two days after, on the 12th of April, when he gave them battle, and the longest and most regular engagement of the whole war. For five hours and twenty minutes a constant and active fire was sustained on both sides, and both the lines preserved almost exactly, especially ours; excepting the unfortunate Monmouth, who was obliged to retire with the loss of two of her masts, from the fire of SUFFREIN's ship, early in the engagement. He himself, however, suffered so much, especially from his brother admiral, Sir EDWARD, that he was under the necessity of quitting his own vessel, and going on board another. They outnumbered us by one,—twelve to eleven,—in consequence of the unfortunate capture of the Annibal, commanded by my friend who takes this to you, Captain CHRISTY. He will describe to you all those particulars that you may have any curiosity about, and all private ones too,
relative

relative to your humble servant, which he knows too well, having been so long in the same situation here. But my arrival here has been only about a month, having stopped five weeks at the *Isle of France*, whither I was dispatched the 16th of April, four days after the engagement. I was desirous to have remained with their Squadron, on board my friend DE SALVERT, to be near the coast, in hopes of some favourable event, and possibly of a cartel for exchange speedily taking place; but on SUFFREIN's application to Sir EDWARD HUGHES, to have one established, a necessary delay*, and some offence to SUFFREIN had arisen, I think, without reason; and I received from him the polite refusal of my request, of which I inclose you a copy†. The "*sujet de plainte*" against the Presidency of Madras, was their not having answered his letter—*which they had not received*. But the delay of the cartel continuing, I cannot help

* Sir EDWARD answered in a manner too short and cavalier, SUFFREIN thought, "that he could not till he should hear from the government of Madras."

† See Appendix, Number II.

agreeing, with M. SUFFREIN, that he really has rendered me a service in sending me hither, where I certainly have been more agreeably circumstanced than I could have been on board the *Fin* so long. For as to the other idea, which you see he throws out in his letter, of sending his prisoners to the Nabob, as he calls him, HYDER ALLY; I hope it was only a menace, thrown out for me to communicate to Madras to Lord M. to induce a cartel the more speedily, and that he could not be serious in intending so barbarous a measure. If he were, and it should take place, I have really had a very fortunate escape: for as he argues it in his letter, I have found these islands justify his description. And in that most important article of all others, health. I hinted, that the most essential advantages are derived from accidents sometimes seemingly adverse. So I have experienced: for I must confess, —and you know I am not willing to confess any thing of this sort, but from the long fatigue of my Ceylon business, and the extreme heat of that climate at that time, it cannot be wondered at, that I had suffered a little

a little in that most essential circumstance.

And my immediate return to Madras, though so desirable on some other accounts, would certainly have been by no means so favourable to my becoming again perfectly well, as the climate and country here; which deserve every praise that can be bestowed on them in that respect, and indeed, in the other important one, also, mentioned by my noble correspondent, of the *agréable société*.

—Of the *Isle of France* I can say very little, having had no opportunity of seeing the country, or the inhabitants. For being a place of arms, and regularly fortified, to defend their coast and harbour where their fleets rendezvous, and they have always abundance of shipping, it is of the utmost consequence to them to prevent any hostile eye becoming acquainted with the situation.

And it was a great favour to permit me to remain there so long, even under the restraint which it was necessary to impose.

The constant usage being to send the prisoners to this island immediately, without stopping, or going on shore at all, at the *Isle of France*: but I desired it, in hopes

constantly of some good news, perhaps of cartel, from the squadrons or the coast. During my stay there, I had the satisfaction, and I assure you, I thought it a very considerable one, of seeing the famous Mons. BUSSY :—a character most eminently distinguished throughout the last war in India. Very formidably so, indeed, for us at present; when the exertion of his talents, and the authority of his name, which were equally famous in the cabinet and the field, must very powerfully reinforce the cause of his country in India : and he comes out with complete power and command, by land and sea, and unlimited credit on the treasury of France. But still, I trust, they are neither strong, nor rich enough,—nor in time, either, which is as necessary, to effect any thing against us,—*He honoured me with a visit*, with Viscompte SOUILLAC, the Governor; and was extremely polite and attentive, giving particular directions that I should be supplied with every thing I desired. His manner is rather reserved, but not forbidding; tall and dignified in his appearance, with a most intelligent countenance, remarkably

remarkably fair and fresh for his years and services (sixty-five) and many campaigns in India!—But the mention of my health, on which I know your tenderness will take too anxious an alarm, induces me to return to Ceylon, to account to you, still more particularly, how it suffered, necessarily indeed, from the fatigue, delay, and anxiety, of my situation there.

(Signed) HUGH BOYD.

* The remainder of this letter is a relation of Mr. Boyd's journey in Ceylon, and of his negotiation with the King of Candy. But as it contains little more information of any kind than has been given in the journal, it were superfluous to publish it.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TO THE
KING OF CANDY, &c. &c.

FROM

HUGH BOYD, Esq. &c.

I Have the honour of acquainting your Highness, that I am appointed ambaffador to your Highness's durbar, by his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord MACARTNEY, the Governor, and the Presidency of Madras; and that I am charged with a letter to your Highness, from the Governor, in order to explain to you their favourable sentiments, and assure you of their friendship.

I suppose

I suppose your Highness has already heard of the great successes of the English against their enemies, particularly the Dutch, whom they have now driven entirely from the coast of *Coromandel*, having taken from them their last settlement there, *Negapatam*.

To carry on the victories of the English against the Dutch, Vice-admiral Sir EDWARD HUGHES, commander in chief of the King of England's ships and marine forces in India, is now arrived with the fleet and force under his command at *Trincomallée*, in conjunction with the troops of the English East-India Company. He has already taken one of their forts from the Dutch, called *Trincomallée-Fort*, with many prisoners, and without opposition. And he is proceeding with equal vigour, and with certainty of equal success, against their only other fort, called *Ostendburgh*. Which must also yield to the great superiority of the English arms.

This will certainly have been effected long before your Highness can have received this letter. But in the character with which I have

have the honour of being invested as ambassador to your Highness, I am desirous to take the earliest opportunity, in transmitting to you these happy particulars, to assure you that it is only against their enemies the Dutch, that the arms of the English are directed; and that the highest respect and attention will be shewn to your Highness's rights and dignity; and that your subjects will be treated with the utmost kindness and friendship, according to a declaration which his Excellency Sir EDWARD HUGHES, Admiral and Commander in Chief, has already published. I am happy in communicating these matters to your Highness, not doubting that it will give you pleasure to hear of the success and power of your friends.

As many more English ships and troops are expected soon to be here, and as some great further operations will probably be soon carried on by them, for the destruction of their enemies, and the advantage of their friends, I am ordered by his Excellency the Governor of Madras, to communicate to your Highness, as soon as possible, the letter

from him, which I have the honour of being charged with.

I shall be happy, therefore, to deliver it to your Highness in person, with every explanation and friendly assurance which you can desire, as soon as I shall know in reply to this, that you have given the necessary orders for my accommodation on the road to Candy, and that you have sent proper persons to conduct me thither. And this, I hope, your Highness will be pleased to do immediately, as there ought to be no delay in transactions of so much importance.

I am also charged with a letter to your Highness, from his Highness WALAH JAH, Nabob of the Carnatic, which I shall be happy to deliver to you.

I only wait to have the honour of hearing from your Highness as I have desired; I shall then immediately proceed to enter on all these important matters, on the most friendly and satisfactory ground to your Highness.

(Signed) HUGH BOYD.

No.

No. II.

A Letter from M. SUFFREIN, Admiral and Commandant of the French fleet, in the Indian Seas, in the year 1782, to Mr. BOYD.

SIR,

IT is with the greatest regret, that reasons, resulting from the service I am employed in, will not suffer me to comply with your request; and it is one of the misfortunes of those who command, that they cannot gratify the feelings of their hearts.

I shall not enter into a detail of the subjects on which I may have reason to complain, of Mr. JOHNSTONE, Governor of *Negapatam*, as well as of the Presidency of Madras, and others, for I assure you, they shall not influence my determination respecting you. I am even doing you, in my opinion, an act of service, for in case the French prisoners are sent to Bengal, an unwholesome climate, and to which the navigation is not without danger, it will be incumbent on me, (until I have a solid establishment in India, or that a cartel

a cartel for exchange shall be fixed on) to commit the English prisoners to the care of the Nabob, and I think the *Isles of France*, or of *Bourbon*, which are pleasant countries in point of salubrity and society, will be more agreeable to you.

I am, Sir, with respect,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

SUFFREIN.

On board the *Hero*,

16th April, 1782.

No. III.

To his Excellency the Marquis DE BUSSY,
Lieut. General and Commander in Chief of
his Most Christian Majesty's forces in India.
From Mr. BOYD.

SIR,

PERSUADED that your Excellency is
no less disposed by inclination, than invested
with authority on the part of your country,
to

to conduct the war in this quarter of the globe, according to the usage of civilized nations, and the rights of individuals, I have the honour of representing to your Excellency my claim to be enlarged from the captivity I am held in, and the grounds on which I conceive that claim to be founded.

Prisoners of war, I conceive to be those, and properly speaking, those only, who, being actually in a military capacity, are thrown by the fortune of war into the hands of the enemy. Possibly also, in some cases, this description may be extended to persons exercising some publick executive office of the state to which they belong. But I have the honour of submitting to your Excellency, that men, merely in a civil capacity, are not in fact, nor ought in justice, to be considered prisoners of war.

On the justice of the subject, I apprehend little need be stated. It would be obviously contrary to the just order and relation of things, that men of peace, whose characters, occupations, and fortunes, are totally distinct from war, should yet be subject to its laws, and condemned to sustain,
in

in their private capacities, the severest adversities of publick hostility, without any title or opportunity to partake its honours or advantages. Such an indiscriminate subjection to its consequences, would be an aggravation, equally cruel and unjust, of the injuries to civil society from all warfare, even the most qualified and humanized. The sufferings of individuals would be in proportion to its injustice; for the more alien they are from the business of war, the less prepared are their peaceable affairs for its revolutions, and the more ruined by its unexpected calamities.

As to the fact, constant example must have occurred to your Excellency's experience and opportunities. One very recent, permit me to revert to; the capture of the merchant ships from Great Britain, for the East and West Indies, by the Spaniards in 1779, and the immediate release of all those whose situation was merely civil, of whom there were many on board, appointed to offices in the English settlements. They were instantly discharged, on the principles I have had the honour of stating to your Excellency,

Excellency, and consistently with constant custom, as not being objects of hostility, and therefore not prisoners of war.

Such, Sir, is my actual situation ; I never had the honour of holding any military rank whatever, nor any character that was not perfectly private, till in October, 1781, above fourteen months ago, I was appointed to a negociation in the island of Ceylon. It is not now necessary to discuss the nature of my appointment.—Nine months have elapsed since my return from it. So that, in whatever light it might have been considered, having so long ceased, the memory of it cannot affect my present claim. If any authority were wanting to an argument so obvious, I can produce the most respectable. In a late transaction with the governments of the *Isles of France and Bourbon*, relative to the character I should be considered to hold, in order to regulate my subsistence as a prisoner, it was decided by both those high authorities, “ that the appointment I had formerly held for negociations in the island of Ceylon, had been of a nature only momentary and transient, *and was now no more;*

more; that the only capacity, therefore, in which I could now be considered to stand, was the station I had held at Madras."

The only station which I held at Madras was that of one of Lord MACARTNEY'S Secretaries. Standing therefore in a character so perfectly civil and private, not even in the service of the East India Company, but simply in the family of Lord MACARTNEY, permit me to repeat my claims as a point of right; and to expect from the justice of your Excellency, that you will be pleased to give order accordingly, for my immediate passage from this island, either to India, or to Europe, as the necessities of my private affairs, injured severely by this long captivity, may require.

To your Excellency's experience and penetration, I am conscious it would have been unnecessary to state thus at length the particulars of this subject. But discussions of this nature are not merely the concern of the individuals who happen to be the immediate parties. Such subjects ought to be fully stated and understood. Acted upon
by

by the decisive authority of your Excellency, they become a precedent for nations.

In full persuasion that that high authority will be always exerted on the fairest principles, and with the most respectful consideration for your Excellency's person and character,

I have the honour to remain,

Your EXCELLENCY'S

Most obedient and most humble servant,

HUGH BOYD.

Isle of Bourbon,

Dec. 18th, 1782.

THE
INDIAN OBSERVER.

VOL. II.

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THE
ADAM OBSERVER

VOL. II

THE
INDIAN OBSERVER.

NUMBER I.—SEPT. 9, 1793.

"The difficulty of the first address on any new occasion, is felt by every man in his transactions with the world.

JOHNSON.

IF such be the acknowledgment of a great master, who to extraordinary force of mind united the ample stores of learning and knowledge, and with a strength of style peculiarly his own, presented more subjects to the publick eye than perhaps any other author; what must be the feelings of the common class of writers?—and, if merely the first address involve so much difficulty, how formidable must be the undertaking, to

repeat, at stated periods, certain *quantums* of composition; to bind fancy down to punctuality; and to present to the publick attention, a periodical essay? How arduous ought the attempt to appear, if they knew themselves, to those whose literary ambition must be conscious of much unstudious avocation; who have omitted to supply by observation, or even late inquiry, what perhaps was early neglected in study, or denied in genius; to those, in fine, whose experience is so limited, both of themselves and the world, that they think they can write, and hope they will be read. It may be remarked, that these difficulties are more felt by the veteran than the young adventurer; that forward zeal will rush, where caution would tremble to tread; and that the superficial judge boldly plunges into his sea of troubles; fearless, because ignorant, of the dangers of the literary deep.

Although not wholly in the latter description, of absolute inexperience, the present writer is well aware of his distance from the former. He regards with a most respectful eye, the interval between his humble essay,
and

and the excellence of periodical publication, which, for an Augustan century, has been the ornament and instruction of his country. From the first admirable example of this species of composition, through the many succeeding specimens of excellent imitation, up to the didactick, moral, and sententious eloquence of a late learned luminary, so extensive a range had been taken of life and manners, and with such minute investigation, that little opening appeared for the encouragement of subsequent attempts on a similar plan; few materials seemed to remain for any novelty of subject, or variety of arrangement. Scarcely a corner or recess of human character had been left unexplored, or a motive of conduct untraced. While the eagle eye of the *Spectator* had looked vice into shame, his keen and brilliant ray had penetrated and dispelled the clouds of false taste, follies, and affectation; and with a new informing light, had displayed, in their genuine lustre, the charms of genius, virtue, and piety. The *Tatler* told every thing to every body; and told it so well, and so truly, that the hearer was
allured

allured to listen, and delighted to laugh; till warmed into praise by the justice of the ridicule, he was surprised by its application, at the winding up of the moral tale—*de te fabula narratur*. The *Guardian* watched with anxious attention against every mischief, and for every good, that might arrive to his fair wards; and knowing that happiness is the crown of virtue, he also knew that the immortal wreath receives still new charms, when adjusted by the gentler duties and graces of life: he extended his solicitude to the manners, as well as to the morals; and he presented to the queen of female virtues, as the fairest and safest handmaids, elegance and decorum. The *World* displayed its knowledge, and diffused the precept of its best science, in a manner so agreeably varied, as to prove that the conductors of that literary planet, for its day of influence, were well qualified to discriminate the parallaxes of pleasure and propriety in the school of fashion; to catch and correct the fluctuating manners in that changeable scene; to prove, by a happy mixture of the most pleasing with the most useful doctrine, that the true orbit

orbit of the man of pleasure is within the eccentricities of extravagance: and the sphere of honour has ever virtue for its centre.

Such, through successive brilliant periods, were the concentrated and continued efforts of the talents of some of the brightest names of English literature; when one champion singly and boldly stepped forward in the lists, where the difficult prize of fame had hitherto been contended for by the united powers of many. The *Rambler* appeared; confident in his strength, and constant in the cause of truth. His genius, nervous, original, and intrepid, attacked the substance and the root of every vice, in whatever form or colour it could appear, of endeavour to dissemble.—And although lighter follies might elude his giant grasp, no cardinal crime could find protection, in the power or corruption of wealth, from the inflexible censure of his moral justice. His acute research discriminates, with unerring exactness, the different merits, too often confounded in the ethical balance; his resistless reasoning, in the inculcation of the various duties

duties of life, though sometimes apparently too abstracted and refined, is drawn from the simplest and purest sources; and comes home, in Lord Bacon's phrase, "To the business and bosoms of men." But above all, in his sublime discussions of the most sacred truths, as no style can be too lofty, nor conceptions too grand, for such a subject; so has the great master never exerted the powers of his great genius with more signal success. Impiety shrinks beneath his rebuke; the atheist trembles and repents; the dying sinner catches a gleam of revealed hope; and all acknowledge the just dispensations of eternal wisdom.

If, in retrospect to these great exemplars, the writer has been induced into more detail than he foresaw, or his reader desired, it is a proof of the danger of attempting to tread in their footsteps; a path so brilliant, as to have made him lose sight of the object he had in view. But this, he hopes, will have been in some measure anticipated by the good-nature of the reader, from what has been already submitted, as to the difficulty of so new an attempt. The usual re-

source

source of the trembling author, is the candour of the publick: that is, in other words, if it must be confessed, the favour, or at least the mercy, of the critick; and every reader is a critick; for every writer, if he has the smallest grain of instinct of authorship about him, anticipates, with no little anxiety, the various judgment that may await him; flattered sometimes by self-approval, fortunately, as perhaps he may have nothing else to reward him, with the hope of a friendly nod; more alarmed, probably, on the other hand, as fear is a more active principle than hope, with the terrors of the contemptuous shrug. If, however, this species of publication in periodical essay, on the various topicks of morals, manners, and literature, has gained eminent and continued approbation from a European publick, may not even the novelty of the attempt to introduce it on the Indian scene, claim some favour, and deprecate severity. To deserve the former, he is aware how much he will stand in need, not only of the critical indulgence, but the active kindness of his friends. He will be doubly encouraged by their assistance,

sistance, and their example. And as it is his determined principle to avoid either giving or taking offence; he hopes that the nature of their favours, and his reception of them, will be equally satisfactory to both parties and the publick.

P.

NUMBER II.—SEPT. 16, 1793.

*Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago libelli.* JUVENAL.

All human actions, wishes, fears, or rage,
Pleasures, or joys, or reasonings of the sage,
Compose the motley matter of our page.

THE sphere of human life is studied with so many motives, and the lines of conduct are so diversely directed, as to present an inexhaustible fund to the philosophical observer. Reasons infinitely various arise, as to the sources whence actions spring, the principles on which they proceed, and the objects to which they tend. While some speculatists confine their origin and their scope to selfish parallels, others admitting a

more liberal variety, acknowledge the existence at least, if not the general prevalence, of disinterested principle. Another class, dazzled by the glare of metaphysical ingenuity, and lost in the mazes of free will and necessity, resort to scepticism as their only clue; resolving all their research after knowledge into learned doubt and ostentatious ignorance. The true philosophy will probably be found in a mixed system of these three opinions; in a *moral constitution*, where the despotism of *self* is qualified by the honourable corrective of generous sentiment; and where the low and levelling ideas of promiscuous predestination, yield to the dignity of free agency and the order of reason.

When the parliamentary mover announces that a string of motions is to follow his first proposition, he is called on by the prudent caution of the hearers, for an exposition of those which he threatens are to follow. Without the privilege of parliament, though honoured with the sanction of the higher powers, and favoured with the indulgence of the publick, the Observer feels himself more called upon to expound the intended series

series of his disquisitions. As "the proper study of mankind is man," his intention is to pursue the subject in its several parts; to investigate the sources of human conduct; to discover the springs that continue to actuate; and to display the objects that allure or deter.

For the division of a subject so various and important, it is not easy to find a more comprehensive model, than the distribution marked out in the plan of the great Roman satirist, which appears at the head of this paper. His observation had the richest and most extensive variety for its object. Triumphant in arms, and eminent in arts, the mistress of the European world presented an universal scene for the investigation of the philosopher and the strictures of the censor. With power to command the means, and wealth to purchase the objects, of every gratification, Imperial Rome exhibited at once the advantages of the arts and refinement which polish life, and the mischiefs that result from their abuse and excess. While we contemplate the immortal monuments of learning and genius, of philosophy, oratory, and

and poetry, which she has bequeathed to the admiration of posterity; we are condemned at the same time to view, with a sigh for the imperfection of our nature, the follies that disgraced her wisdom, and the vices that sullied her glory. More fatal than the most hostile arms, according to the satirist, luxury undermined the greatness invincible to every other foe; and the victors of mankind, vanquished by themselves, gave to the world the revenge it could not take.

But if this dark side of the picture disgust, and if the shade of satire thrown upon it, be too strong; and it may truly be asserted that it is so, as to any application to modern times; we can turn with pleasure to the fairer part of the ancient scene, as more applicable to the better refinement and qualified character of present manners.

The superior style of manners which has characterized the latter ages, is generally attributed to the spirit of chivalry which prevailed in Europe; the gallant offspring of military adventure and romantick religion, after the extraordinary effervescence of the Crusades had subsided. It is certain, that

that much of what is generally understood to be modern refinements, may be deduced from that liberal source, of personal magnanimity, and generous zeal, highly exalted and ardent in the disinterested pursuit of its object; when each individual considered himself the Achilles of the war; and standing high on his own armorial acquirements, the rewards and the memorials of his valour, gloried in the proud contrast of the honour both of his achievements and his cause, with the baseness of the barbarian infidels, rebels to the true religion, and usurpers of the sacred territory. Though the object was lost or changed, the spirit of adventure and principle of personal dignity remained. Another object was found for high and honourable sensibility, in the transition from religion to the devotions of gallantry; the rules of which required, with fastidious exactness, an uniform decorum of conduct. These powerful causes have doubtless had much influence in meliorating the manners and sentiments of men; especially the latter great consideration, formed by gentle and correct degrees into the grand improvement of

of life; a due attachment, not alone to the personal charms of the female sex, but to the virtues and talents that dignify and adorn them.

But with submission to the general reasoning which would infer these topicks from a few fixed and distant points, it must appear on a minute consideration of the subject, that many and various stages occur where the attention must rest, in observing the rise, progress, and change, of the motives and objects of manners and actions. The abstract reasoner may amuse himself, but will not easily convince his reasonable hearer, with the broad position, that human nature is every where the same; a maxim, which if it meant anything as foundation for argument, ought to be defined in a very limited and strict sense; as inferring only that human beings are the same originally and by nature; and even this explanation will find its antagonists. But to apply it generally to an identification of human nature through all the various habits of education and religion, under all climates and all governments, would be to deny what all

all mankind concur in acknowledging, the invincible power of custom; and to maintain that moral and physical causes have no influence on the mind and faculties of man.

In the instance, however, of the European world in India, the same observation may be applied to them on this question, as to the champions of chivalry; that the object is altered, while the motive or principle of pursuit remains the same. HORACE tells us, that the traveller changes his climate, not his disposition. The Observer will not at present discuss this aphorism of the polite satirist; but hopes in the investigation in his following numbers, of the subjects proposed in his motto, it will be found as true as it is polite; and that local knowledge may be acquired from local change, without real alteration of disposition or sentiment.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER III.—SEPT. 23, 1793.

Hoc erat in votis.

HORACE.

This was my wish.

MR. OBSERVER,

NOTHING could be more *apropos* to the sentiments with which I was impressed by your first number, than the subject of your second. Wishes are the theme you propose in the latter to consider; and a wish was the sentiment I was inspired with by the former;—a very sincere wish to be thought worthy the correspondence of the Observer, and to contribute as much as in my power to relieve the labour, and assist the plan of his observations.

The novelty of your undertaking, in this country, is no less attractive, than its advantages promise to be useful and pleasing to the publick. Its difficulty, however, of periodical performance, which you have so well observed upon, must be so readily admitted,

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that

that I conceive it to be as readily resolved to lessen it as much as possible, by those, who even "think they can write." Without pretending to stand so high in my own conceit, I have assumed courage, however, to propose myself as an humble recruit, with hearty zeal at least for the service, to stand in the gap, perhaps, when you have not time to bring up better troops: for I imagine it very possible, that in some forced marches the Observer may not be always ready to move with the Hircarrah. If you find me effective enough to be of any use, I am entirely at your command; place me, if you please, at the head of the column, to take off the fire; and the criticks shall find me at least as serviceable as Falstaff's forces,—"food for powder."

It were devoutly to be wished, Mr. Observer, that the desires of men could be, in the first place, regulated by reason, so as to be directed to worthy objects; and secondly, that they were pursued with spirit and constancy, so that the objects might be speedily attained, and fully enjoyed. The listless languor of expectation palls upon the wasted
faculties,

faculties, and the spirits evaporate in protracted imagination. Delays produce doubts and fears, even as to the merit of what has been long in contemplation; the object of pursuit ceases finally to be an object of desire; and instead of the comforts and satisfaction it originally promised, brings, perhaps, disgust and disappointment; or at best, sinks into a passive and careless possession, without taste or enjoyment.

I have pointed my remark on this latter subject rather to the mode of pursuit, than to the nature of the objects; because, in this country at least, the latter do not appear to be so various, as the former is interesting. It has been observed of our neighbours the Dutch, and our predecessors the Portuguese, that their views have been directed to permanent establishment in their Indian settlements;—but it may be very generally asserted, I apprehend, as to our countrymen, that if not absolutely affected with the *mala-die de Suisse*, so as to sicken with desire to return, yet that is a very strong and prevalent sentiment, and a hope frequently and fondly indulged, on their arrival in this

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country.

country. But experience may be appealed to on the question, whether the desire continues equally strong, whether the object be pursued with due activity and constancy, or even whether it be embraced when within reach? Perhaps the *amor patriæ*, like all other affections, as most philosophers assure us, suffers the diminishing influence of time and absence. The object itself, indeed, in some degree, sustains an inevitable change, in the loss of friends, and oblivion of acquaintances:—but the general effect on the whole certainly is, that the anxious wish at first highest in the heart, beating with recent recollection of the objects long nearest and dearest to it, becomes less and less ardent, not only in proportion as time lessens and lulls the attention, but as different objects arise to divert it.

How often do we see the original object gradually diminished, and apparently annihilated, in instances of the possessors of large fortunes; who either remain in this country till they lose all faculty of enjoying them in Europe, or mistaking the line still more widely, sacrifice the end to the means, and

die in India, in preparing a rich return to their native country.

What has been suggested, however, on this subject, especially as to the decrease of desire for returning to happiness at home, it is hoped will not by any means be universally applied. Particular circumstances or situations occur, to counteract general causes; and even the general causes that have been mentioned are not without exception, as to their effects. There are affections which are never absent from the objects beloved; and the affliction of true affection, impossible to be diminished by any cause, is multiplied by time and distance.

If wealth, however, be the principal end of pursuit in this country, it is not the only one: martial renown, political consequence, literary fame, all spread their brilliant allurements, and inspire the generous wish. And it may be remarked in India, more perhaps than in the variegated scene of Europe, these great pursuits are cultivated in general, in a high strain of honour and disinterestedness, and their objects attained generally with acknowledged merit and deserved success:—
and

and if pursuit of the general object of fortune be sometimes carried too far, and continued too long, it is pleasing, however, on the other hand, to observe the wise and moderate conduct which knows when and how to stop. The mistaken maxim, that there is more pleasure in the pursuit than the possession, invented probably as a palliative for disappointment, seems to have deceived those keen fortune-hunters, who neglect the game after they have run it down. Lord BACON thought more wisely, who said that,—“hope was a pleasant breakfast, a tolerable dinner, but a very bad supper.”

I am, Mr. Observer,

Your obedient Co-adjutor,

P.

CO-OPTATOR.

NUMBER

NUMBER IV.—SEPT. 30, 1793.

————— *Where Hope resides,
There ever flutters her pale sister Fear.*

HARTSON'S COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

IN the profound œconomy of the human mind, perhaps there is no subject of which the consideration is in itself more curious, or in its consequence more useful, than the proximity of the passions. Even those which appear on a cursory view to be most distinct in their progress, and different or even contrary in their nature, will be found from more minute examination wonderfully connected and allied; flowing from the same source, though directed through distinct channels of operation, and assuming various colours as they proceed; and governed by the same object, though the mode of regard be different. Like the mathematical curvature of the *parabola*, constantly accompanying its right line neighbour; though of different form and quality, always tend-

ing towards the same object, and for ever coinciding.

Reflection on this subject may check the pride of the casuists, who arrogate merit to what is perhaps purely accidental; or, at the best, only a secondary quality of action, as colour is of substance. Passions, abstractedly considered, are neither virtues nor vices. They are the dispositions of the mind, implanted by Nature: differing, it is true, in degree and vigour, in proportion to the various constitutions of mind and body with which the Author of human nature has diversified his creation; but more different in the courses they pursue, according to accidental situations or original impressions; as early example may have suggested, or as may have been inculcated by education and habit. It is then that their character as criminal or praise worthy comes into consideration; and it is evident that their merit is to be appreciated, according to the use which is made of them as the great instruments in the intercourse of life. Let not, however, their consanguinity be forgotten, though their conduct and merit be essentially different.

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The profligate son was of the same pious stock with those who needed no repentance; may not a perverted passion be also considered with kindness, and reclaimed with effect, when, rejecting the draff and husks of error, it returns to the feast of reason.

Of the dispositions of the mind, which are really very near to each other, though apparently distant, it has been frequently said, that pride and meanness are remarkable instances. Though I do not think the observation exactly correct, it is too favourable to my general position to be entirely given up. They may, I believe, truly be considered, as mutually subservient, and, indeed, reciprocally productive of each other. The species of pride intended here (for all honest and virtuous pride is certainly out of the question), existing only for ostentation "to stupid starers and their loud huzzas," would pay any price of private infamy for publick pomp and parade. Meanness, on the contrary, when elevated by the caprice of fortune, substitutes empty pride to real dignity; or even in its original baseness, revenges the servility it pays, by subordinate arrogance

arrogance and petty tyranny to its wretched inferiors.

Impressed with the sincerest regard for the sex, it is difficult for an admiring *Observer* to associate the idea of meanness to any female description; even of those, who are hypocrites of its virtue, and traitresses to its charms. But it must be owned that the pride of prudery is proverbial, and the stilted affectation of outrageous virtue, which, ever since LEAR's old time, "shrinks even at pleasure's name," proudly spurning every publick advance of the tender passion, condescends humbly with Christian charity, if legends lie not, to extend its private and promiscuous benevolence.

Ambition and avarice would seem to be as remote in their nature, and as contradistinguished in their principle and object, as any two dispositions of the mind. Yet, however more brilliant the colours and *costume* of the one than of the other, they will be found wonderfully to approximate in their design and composition. In support of this apparent paradox, the fact might be observed, of their often finding their place in
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the same breast. Two notable instances occur, in modern and ancient history, of equal avarice of military glory and private profit. The princely possessor of Blenheim, while he directed the storm, and decided the fortune of war, was no less attentive to his own. He "saved a nation, and he saved a groat." Nor were the occasioned attentions of his Grace's prototype, the victorious CRASSUS, less famous or certain. While his Roman eagles pursued the defeat, not a Roman in the ranks was more attentive to the plunder of the flying Parthian.

But without insisting on examples, let these leading qualities be fairly considered in the abstract; and let the consideration be divested of the glare which surrounds the one, and the prejudicial mist that obscures the other, distinction and pre-eminence are the objects of both; and ardent attention and unwearied perseverance are their mutual principles. It is true, that the pre-eminence ambitioned by the one, and the distinction coveted by the other, are somewhat different in their specific nature. But this is rather a nominal than a real objection
to

to the position, and is founded more on accident than on any intrinsic or essential difference. If CHARLES of Sweden had been the son of a grocer in Cheapfide, his ambition might have been a *plum*; and the same genius which baffled PETER, and astonished Europe, we may fairly presume, would have succeeded round St. Paul's, and filled at least the prætorian chair of London. "Let me stand on my cash-chest," said an ambitious little hero of the counting-house, "and I warrant you I will stand as high as the proudest statue of them all." Had this knight of the ledger trailed a pike at Stockholm, instead of a pen in Lothbury, he would have been as attentive to glory in the one, as to credit in the other; and might have died at Pultowa, as comfortable as he lived at Dulwich.

Of other prominent passions of the mind, some future opportunity may occur to furnish some discussion. In the mean time, I cannot dismiss this paper without observation of the two most active and interesting in all the concerns of life.—Without the excellencies of MONTAIGNE, it would be

unpar-

unpardonable to imitate only his defects; one of which, that he is most famous for, is a perfect inattention to the subject promised in his motto. Mine so elegantly describes the relation between the seemingly contrasted passions of hope and fear, as to leave me little to add. An appeal to his own bosom will remind every feeling person of the anxiety of hope, of doubts invented by the ingenuity of affection, and magnified by sensibility into apprehension and fear.

It is remarkable, likewise, that the more ardent and anxious the hope may be, so must the attendant fear of losing its object be more importunate. Can any anxiety equal that of the expectant lover, lest any wayward accident of fate, envious of his bliss, utterly unimagined, however, by any other mind, should interfere between him and happiness?

If such be the proximity of the passions, let due consideration be used to distinguish them, and candour to appreciate; and, if such be their power, let proportionate care be exerted to regulate and direct them. Let it be remembered, according to the expressive

five metaphor of our moral poet, that they are only "the gales of life," and let reason stand to the helm.

P.

NUMBER V.—TUESDAY, OCT. 8, 1793.

Percunctatorem fugito, namque idem garrulus est.

*The curious shun, unless you wish to hear,
Your secret buzz'd from his to ev'ry ear.*

MY DEAR MR. OBSERVER,

AS I am sure you could not have so much knowledge without having a great deal of curiosity, I hope I shall find an able advocate in you, for the defence of that laudable and useful quality, which yet some dull and envious persons affect to condemn. Is it not astonishing that any pedants can yet be found, in the eighteenth century; Mr. Observer, (if it be really the eighteenth, for you must know there is some doubt on that point, suggested by some curious reasoners, who question whether it can be fairly concluded!—

cluded!—What do you think, Mr. Observer?) but, whatever it be, is it not extraordinary that any one can persist in the antiquated prejudice of the advantage of study, and the wisdom to be found in musty old books? It has always been my favourite maxim, that an acquaintance with men and things is a thousand times more useful. Even Mr. POPE, though so great a writer of books, acknowledges, as Dick Shallow, from college, observed the other day, “the proper study of mankind is man.”

I think it must be admitted, in candour, that real learning, as to any present purpose, is the knowledge of what is present and actually going forward, rather than of what is past and gone. What interest can we now have in inquiring into the conduct and conversation of old fashioned ancestors, who died two or three centuries ago? Especially as there are many whom I cannot find, on the most curious inquiry I can make, to have had any ancestors at all:—but in any case, what can the living have to do with the dead? Unless, perhaps, in an innocent interview now and then with a good-natured ghost,

ghost, that may come to satisfy a friend's curiosity. But what living satisfaction can one have, in any modern assembly, in discovering the secrets, even of a maid of honour, among the antiquated ruffs of old ELIZABETH'S court?

Now, as you must no doubt have some curiosity, at least about your curious correspondent, and as I never keep my friends in suspense on these occasions, the following is my short history.

The consequence of my favourite maxim was not, as you may easily imagine, very favourable in my younger years, to my Greek and Latin :—but though I had little acquaintance with HELEN or DIDO, I was perfectly versed in the history of every family in the neighbourhood. If my schoolmaster made me suffer for my want of classical curiosity, I was amply rewarded, however, by the favour of some of my mother's female friends, especially an old aunt, who took such a tender concern in the interest of their neighbours, that they were quite unhappy if not acquainted with every thing that was done, said, or whispered, among them

them. My father, who was a respectable apothecary, and from whom I derived probably some ingredients of my curious disposition, was very anxious that I should acquire Latin enough to improve on his *Materia Medica*, and pursue the more learned profession of physick.

Excepting a total ignorance of the profession, and an absence of all learning derived from reading, some of my friends flattered me that I was tolerably well qualified:—but the two objections I mention, appearing to have some weight, I was indulged by my father in the pursuit of my favourite maxim, and commenced my studies of men and things. Notwithstanding many difficulties and mortifications, which you know all studies are subject to in the outset, I proceeded with tolerable success; till being perhaps a little too much encouraged in my own opinion, I began to extend the circle of my lucubrations. Then, Sir, I began to find an extraordinary effect of my own advanced knowledge. In proportion as my thirst of learning increased, I found myself in new difficulties and embarrassments. How often

has my head narrowly escaped being broken, only for popping it into some friendly place of retirement, that I might know a little of what my friends were doing. I was at one time taken up for a spy, when I was only listening to some family anecdotes of a clerk of the treasury; and at another, I was near being sent to Newgate, as a shop-lifter, or house-breaker, only because I was lurking about the door of a banker, who had stopped payment, that I might learn some of the particulars from the servants:—and, I find marvellously of late, that most companies, on my appearance among them, are as silent as a quaker's meeting: a gentleman would not even answer me, a few days ago, when I asked him, if his wife's grandfather had not been a shoe-maker?

Still, Mr. Observer, I am not discouraged in my maxim, though I confess I cannot say from experience, that this inquisitive pursuit of other people's affairs is a *curiosa felicitas*:—but, perhaps, there may be some safer medium to adopt—between the old dead letter of learning, which I cannot endure with patience; and the living spirit of curiosity,

curiosity, which I find I cannot indulge with safety.

I shall be very curious to know your opinion, and remain,

Mr. Observer,

Your most obedient servant,

KITT QUIZ.

P.

The Observer is much flattered, both by the favour of his friend, Mr. Quiz's correspondence, and the ingenuity of his inquiries. For the former, he is no less curious than Mr. Q. for its continuance; as to the latter, it would require more time than the present press of business can permit, or the business of the press afford, to point out the medium in detailed accommendation, that Mr. Quiz requires.

The Observer takes the liberty of suggesting in general, that by a careful perusal of magazines and reviews, he may indulge curiosity, and avoid personal impertinence; and be perfectly secure from what he so much deprecates, learned research and scientific acquirement.

With much pleasure and many thanks, the Observer accepts and favours his readers with the following letter.

Stemmata quid faciunt.

JUVENAL.

It was once asserted, by that great moralist and shrewd observer of men and manners, Dr. JOHNSON, that, "there is generally a scoundrelism about a low man." Taking for granted, that by a *low man* he meant a man of low birth and education, I cannot possibly be pleased with his harsh assertion. This would be, indeed, to make the amiable virtues, which so highly adorn human nature, to be inherent in the children of elevated rank, and honour; and integrity to be hereditary.—Nothing can be more pernicious than to hold such unfavourable notions of human nature, as to place its highest advantages in those extrinseck ornaments, which are calculated only to raise the pride of the high-born and affluent, into arrogance, and to check the spirit of emulation in the children of poverty.

To bestow the odious term of scoundrel upon a man, merely because he has derived no casual honours from his ancestors, is to make nature arbitrary, and to subject the inferior

inferior classes of mankind to a state of abject dependence, and even slavery, to the higher.

Engaged pretty much with the lower orders of man, I must do them the justice to say, that I have more frequently found among them hearts animated with the purest sensibility, and minds directed by the noblest principles of honour, than among those that would fain arrogate those fine qualities entirely to themselves.

My valuable friend, Arnulphus, is one of those, who owes what he is and possesseth, to his indefatigable industry and just dealing. Though born and bred in the low walk of life, unacquainted with the arts of elegant refinement and polished manners; unblest with any other education than what was just sufficient to enable him to carry on business; and surrounded with a variety of difficulties, originating from the want of fortune and friends, he ventured into trade; and, by persevering in a regular line of conduct, guiding himself by the principles of prudence and honour, he has raised himself to a state of independence, and gained a credit

credit diffused and unblemished, much more honourable than that which derives itself from high birth and elevation of rank. His private manners have been so uniformly affable and unaffected, his appearance, and that of his family, so unostentatious, and yet becoming his circumstances, that he has obtained universal respect; so that none but the worthless are shy of being esteemed Arnulphus's friends. For my part, I consider, and I hope I shall always consider, it as one of the chief pleasures of my life, to be connected with this truly worthy character in the ties of the closest intimacy and friendship. However greatly I esteem the company of those elevated characters, who condescend to honour me with their regard, and the conversation of the literati, who favour me with their acquaintance and familiarity; yet the company and converse of my Arnulphus, are much more agreeable. With him I can be free and unreserved; and though not versed in learned lore, and the affairs of the polite world, yet his observations, the produce of native good sense and a strong understanding, upon men and things,

things, afford me more solid improvement, and real entertainment, than I generally meet with in the circles of the genteel and wife.

Now, should the peremptory unproved assertion of the great moralist, direct any person's notice of, or behaviour, towards such a character as that of Arnulphus?

The pride of birth and affluence may, indeed, swell against the industrious founder and erecter of his own fortune, and condemn him on account of the obscurity of his origin; but the more liberal-minded and intelligent observer of human life, will yield a much greater share of real respect to men of Arnulphus's character, than to those who have little else to boast of, but those adventitious circumstances which have not a single particle of merit attached to them.

Viewing the general number of respectable distinguished characters in India, we shall find, I believe, that by far the majority were, originally, what is termed of low extraction; and in every place where industry meets with that respect as to entitle the worthy industrious member of the com-

munity to general favour, the commercial men are most commonly observed to be guided by principles of honour and integrity.

The assertion, then, which I have thus thought proper to condemn, must be considered as degrading of human nature, contrary to reason and experience, and highly unworthy of the venerable character who uttered it; whose own example was its best confutation, and whose works have been of the most signal service to the interests of virtue and literature, and will remain the perpetual honour of the English nation and language.

I am,

Mr. Observer,

A FRIEND TO INTRINSICK MERIT.

NUMBER

NUMBER VI.—OCTOBER 15, 1793.

Gaudia, discursus:—JUVENAL.

The joys of reason and the joys of sense. POPE.

THE *ci-devant* gay and airy neighbours of Great-Britain conceived a distinction contrasting the human faculties, more happy in expression than any I-recollect in our vocabulary, in their *La Physique* and *La Morale*. It is by due attention to these grand constituents of our nature, that the happiness of the whole is consulted and secured. And it appears, that the partial sect of philosophers, who in their respective definitions of the *Summum Bonum*, or *Chief Good*, regarding only one or the other, gave a very imperfect consideration to the question. Certainly, if it were merely a subject of comparison, there could be little hesitation on the point of preference to whatever relates to the mental faculties and qualities of the soul. Not only the gentle and qualified doctrine of the Platonists, but even the rigid and
ruthless

ruthless virtue of ZENO; not alone the elegant wisdom of those literary sages, who placed their chief happiness in the delights of learning, but even the studious doubts and perplexities of the Pyrrhonist, must be admitted to be of nobler nature, and directed to worthier objects, than any sensual system of the Epicurean school.

But unfortunately, all sects and sectaries are too much attached to their particular systems, and there is generally as little toleration in the reasonings of philosophers, as in the polemicks of religionists. The accomplished TULLY himself, descends from his eloquent rostrum to the disputing school, and becomes almost a railer against the stern and stoical tenets of CATO. A coalition between the orator and the patriot would have perfected the constitution of philosophy, and produced what the Roman poet better imagined, and what is so comprehensively expressed by our own,

"The joys of reason and the joys of sense."

Some of my readers will recollect to have seen in ROUSSEAU, and perhaps to have heard

heard sometimes in argument, the discussion of the important question—how these rationally united pleasures are best to be attained in the intercourse of society. The distinction will readily occur, that this question does not intend a comparison of the different gaieties and amusements of life, but relates to the manners and circumstances of social converse.

The partiality which men generally feel for the customs of their own country, would lead to quick decision on a subject, of which the several parts are in a great degree characteristick of different countries. The gravity and sobriety of a Spaniard would be as little reconciled to the hilarity and convivial enjoyment of an English table, as the vivacity and gallantry of a Frenchman to the Dutch phlegm, or that heaviness of character which they have proverbialised in their German neighbours, *lourd comme un allemand*. But as there are sub-divisions of manners in each country, and classes of disposition in each, differing from the patriotic character, so there will be differences of opinion on this subject in the same society.

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The French-Dutchman will, equally with the Parisian, condemn the Belgic manners and comparatively unsoftened society; and there may be an English-Spaniard, who will condescend from the dignity of reserve and retirement, and come into the social pleasures of life.

It is evident that the English and French manners bear a much nearer resemblance than those of any other two countries; but even in them a very considerable difference was to be found in the leading traits of character, and conduct of society. In France, attention to the *sex* was an universal principle, and governed in a great measure, through all situations and degrees. If the Salique law excluded females from the crown, they were amply recompensed by the laws of manners and fashion, which conceded to them every thing else: without them there was no society; they were the pleasure of all parties, the objects of general regard, and the arbitresses of taste;—and if the consideration here were not confined to manners in society, it might be added, that female influence has been often felt, unfortunately perhaps,

perhaps, too much, in the higher sphere of politicks in France.

Whether this general attention to the sex were overstrained or not in that country, it is certain that in England it has not prevailed in the same degree. Instead of the constant accompaniments at the *promenade*, and even the *toilette*, the *petit souper*, and all the parties; the pleasures of the *chase*, or *course*, if in the country, of *politicks*, if in town, and of the *table* in both, separate the sexes for at least some part of the day. The very idea of a *club*, where honest John Bull passes so many hours with his neighbours, was unknown in France; and the English name, which they have adopted, makes rather an awkward figure in its new dress—*les clubs*.

There can be no doubt of the reciprocal advantage, as well as happiness, in their mutual society: but it is perhaps equally certain, from the difference of their qualities by nature, that their pursuits and manners, and many of their pleasures in society, ought to be different. The ladies ought to leave to the gentlemen the six-barred gate,
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the political debate, and the battle; and the attendance of the gentlemen might be dispensed with at the toilette:—On the other hand, they ought not to sacrifice either business or health, to reason or Bacchus. They ought to enjoy on reflection the social hour, sacred to friendship; and to mix with convivial pleasure,

"The feast of reason and the flow of soul;"

The apprehension of the abuse, is often a reason for dissuading the use: but, I apprehend, it will not require much ingenuity to disprove the consequence. Let the subject in question be tried by ROUSSEAU'S rule and reasoning, and I believe the judgment will be in favour of the English custom, of men dedicating at least some time to social converse with each other.

"The rule of choice," he says, "is simple. When the good exceeds the evil, the subject ought to be admitted, notwithstanding its inconveniences; when the evil exceeds the good, it must be rejected, even with its advantages:"—And in discussions of the advantages and disadvantages of the social circles

circles (*Les Cercles*) of his favourite Geneva, the eloquent philosopher proceeds to give the following opinion, with which, without presuming to give any of my own, I shall conclude this paper.

" * Every intemperance is vicious, and especially that which deprives us of the noblest of our faculties. Excess of wine degrades the man ; it renders him at first an idiot, and at last a brute : but, after all, the taste of wine is not in itself a crime, nor is it often the cause of crimes. It attacks the reason, not the heart † ; and for one transient quarrel that it pro-

* Lettre de J. J. ROUSSEAU a M. ALEMBERT, sur les spectacles.

† Let us not calumniate even faults. Is not this in itself sufficiently disgusting ? But wine, instead of inspiring wickedness, discovers it. He who slew CLYTRUS in a drunken fit, killed PHILOTAS in cool blood. If drunkenness has its mad excesses, are not all the passions guilty of theirs ? The difference is, that the former blazes, and is extinguished in an instant, while the others lie hid in the bottom of the soul. Excepting the sudden and transient gust of rage, which is easily avoided, be sure that he who commits wicked actions when drunk, hatches wicked designs when sober."

duces,

“duces, it forms an hundred lasting attach-
“ments.—Generally speaking, drinkers of
“wine are frank and cordial:—they are
“almost universally good souls; and, ex-
“cepting their failing, correct, just, faith-
“ful, brave, and honest fellows. Can as
“much be said for the vices, substituted in
“its stead? Or will any one pretend to
“render a whole city a faultless race, and
“correct in every thing? How many
“seeming virtues are often the cloak of
“vices? The wise man is sober from tem-
“perance, the rogue by design.—In coun-
“tries of flagitious manners, of intrigues,
“treasons, and adulteries, the guilty dread
“an unguarded state, where the heart is
“shewn without disguise or care; and it is
“an universal truth, that those who have
“the greatest horror of excess in drinking,
“are they who have the greatest interest in
“guarding against it. It is liked at Geneva,
“and abhorred at Naples; but at bottom,
“which is the more dangerous, the intem-
“perance of the Swiss, or the reserve of
“the Italian?”

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER VII.—OCTOBER 22, 1793.

Ut pictura, poesis. HORACE.

Like painting, poetry.

THE observation of Mr. LOCKE will hardly be controverted, when he remarks, that neither the diffuseness of description, nor exactitude of definition, can convey to the mind so perfect an idea, as the actual exhibition to the senses of the subject itself;—and the opinion of HORACE, in his critical epistle to the Pisos, is well known; that the mind cannot be affected in so lively and sensible a manner through the slow channel of the ear, as by the faithful impression of the sight.

Two so high authorities must have great weight in the consideration of any question; and their opinions would seem to concur, if applied in the comparison in the arts of Poetry and Painting, to give a preference to the livelier charms of the younger sister, as more expressive and engaging:—yet it is

not, I believe, certain that such is the decision; nor perhaps will the opinions that have been quoted apply fully to the whole question, of the comparative excellence of the rival arts. The remarks of the philosopher and the critick, are evidently correct, as to the material object that can be immediately submitted to the sense; but they may not be applicable to the ideal subjects or qualities, which constitute the sublime province of the art, both of the poet and the painter. The personal perfections of ACHILLES might be more accurately delineated by the latter, than they could be by any poetical description; but it may be a question, whether even the pencil of APELLES could array him in the sublimity of character which distinguishes the hero of HOMER.

Illustration of one subject by another has always been found the most pleasing, and therefore the most successful mode of explanation, if not fancifully and too far pursued. It is not by the discovery of a fortuitous resemblance, which may deceive and mislead, but by observation of a general parallel

lel tenour, that the knowledge of one subject conduces to the investigation of another:—and in no two instances, perhaps, is the parallel more real and founded in nature, than in the two elegant arts which are the subject of my motto. Their objects are the same, to record the actions and passions of men, and to describe their motives. Equally the vehicles of sentiment, the one arrests the flying word, and gives body to thought, while the other catches the transient glance, and fixes the character. The same qualities and powers of mind are requisite to both; taste for the beautiful and sublime of nature, and for the elegance of art; judgment to select subjects and circumstances, and learning and study to heighten and adorn them; fancy to amplify and illustrate; and, above all, genius to create.

On the other hand, some remarkable points of difference occur, but not important to the essence of the subject; or rather it is on them that the subject of comparison is founded. Painting conveys her ideas by signs furnished by nature herself, which are therefore constant, immutable, and strike

the intelligence at the first glance; while the sentiments of Poetry, on the contrary, are communicated by arbitrary sounds and characters; the impressions on the mind from Painting are therefore more forcible and general; they are felt by most who can see, but those of Poetry are more various and comprehensive: and if they do not strike with such sudden and instantaneous effect, they fill the mind with more succession, and carry it without controul through time and space. For it is the privilege of immortal verse to pass the bounds which seem to limit other arts; commanding the past and future to attend the present; and, scorning the bounded reign of existence, to explore the realms of chaos, and imagine new worlds.

The painter, in his scene of action, being confined not only to a point of time, but to one place, is under the necessity of expressing all his ideas at once. His history, however comprehensive, must be told in one page; his heroes, however interesting and their various characters, must be described in a sentence; and the whole must be comprehended at one view: which, if it

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fail of instant effect, has no resource in change of scene, or in the reinforcement of more judicious variety. He is obliged to bring up all his forces at one attack, and to risk his fate on a single charge.

The poet, in his continued work, has the varied advantage of what the great critick describes in his rule for an epick poem, 'a beginning, a middle, and an end.' If the simplicity of narrative fatigue, the vivacity of action succeeds to animate the reader's attention: if his sensibility be affected, even to pain, by the exquisite distress of *ANDROMACHE*, with her infant *HECTOR*, in her almost widowed arms, he follows the hero to the battle, and sees the plumed helmet, which had frightened the child, towering through the hostile ranks. Even though "old *HOMER* should sometimes slumber," as the Roman critick remarks, he fails not to recover soon with renovated wing, to resume the flight of genius, or pursue the course of wisdom.

Such being the comparative advantage of the poet, the question is, whether the respective superiority of the painter, in general

ral and instant effect, be sufficient to counterbalance it, and to give him on the whole equal sway over the mind. In this a distinction must be observed, as to the talents and taste that are to be effected by the rival arts. To enjoy the beauties of Poetry, a more refined and cultivated understanding would appear to be necessary, than is required to feel the effect of a fine picture. A very elegant writer on this admirable art, remarks, that "*what TULLY observes of an excellent orator, may be as justly said of an excellent painter; his superiority will be evident to the least intelligent judges.*"

Indeed, the orator himself, recommending his favourite theme, in his speech for his friend ARCHIAS, the poet, says, that "*all polite and classical arts have a certain common connexion, and are held together, as it were, by a natural relation.*" Evidently, however, the means by which they address the same passions, are different: but the more direct and obvious the means, it follows, that the effect will be the more sudden, and at first more strong. The eye interprets instantly to the mind, the ideas represented by signs
and

and characters of nature herself; but a certain effort of understanding is required to assist the operation of arbitrary marks and sounds. To prove the effect of Painting more general, as well as more impressive, the fact is, every man has an eye to be pleased; but, on the other hand, there are certainly some, it is to be hoped not many, who

"Have no musick in their souls;"

and more, perhaps, who are utterly indifferent to the charms of Poetry; which, it may be observed, is peculiarly allied to Musick.

On the natural relation of the arts, seems to be founded the critical rule recommended by Mr. ADDISON, which would save many poor ideas the torture they suffer from unmerciful imaginations. He advises to try the poetical image by the painter's art; and never to admit a metaphor in writing, which would not have a natural and pleasing effect on canvas. It is amusing to apply this rule to some of the "fustian so sublimely bad," that used to cut such figures in Grubstreet. For to do justice to modern genius,

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its excesses seem to be in the other extreme, with its modest brethren, POPE's worthies of Fleet-Ditch,

"Sinking sublimely deeper in the mud."

I cannot conclude this paper, as an Indian Observer, without the pleasure of advertising to the approaching union of the arts which have been the subject of it. The Theatre is the chosen temple where this happy union is most intimately formed; and it is with sincere satisfaction that every admirer of elegant amusement must regard the revival of theatrical entertainments in this society, where they have flourished with peculiar success,

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER. VIII.—Nov. 12, 1793.

Pour moi, j'ai peine à concevoir comment on rend assez peu d'honneur aux femmes, pour leur oser adresser sans cesse ces fades propos galans, ces complimens insultans et moqueurs, auxquels on ne daigne pas même donner un air de bonne foi;—les outrager par ces évidens mensonges, n'est ce pas leur déclarer assez nettement qu'on ne trouve aucune vérité obligeante à leur dire?

ROUSSEAU: à d'ALEMBERT.

For my part, I can hardly imagine how men pay so little respect to women, as to dare to address them continually with these insipid topicks of gallantry; with these compliments of insult and mockery, to which they do not deign to give even the semblance of sincerity. Thus to outrage their understanding with evident falsehoods, what is it but a pretty plain declaration that it is impossible to tell them any truth in their favour?

I AM not a little flattered by the success of a few hints that lately appeared in The Observer, relative to the disposition and enjoyment of time in society; and I am the more so, as the subject has been honoured by the attention of that part of society which constitutes its highest happiness.

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It seems, that the consideration having been suggested in a fair circle of friends, from what appeared in the paper alluded to, the conversation naturally turned on their own time and amusements, rather than on those of the gentlemen; and as my obliging communicant acquaints me, the course of it was, as might also be expected, influenced in some degree by the respective situations and qualities of the fair speaker; so that a critical observer might collect the character from the argument, and from the glance of a proposition discover whether the fair reasoner were married or single, young or old, learned or handsome.

But, as I am bound to secrecy on the particulars of the discussion, I shall make no further observation on the taste and eloquence which always distinguish a *Belle Assemblée* from any other; but will proceed, according to the request I am honoured with, in consequence of some points remaining undecided, to endeavour to furnish some additional hints on the important subject of the best œconomy and disposal of female time.

Impartiality

Impartiality is, in all discussions, essential to truth; and consequently, to any advantages that can be hoped from investigation. On the present subject, however, it is perhaps most difficult to be preserved. A certain irresistible bias in favour of the object of inquiry always prepossesses the inquirer to see failings in the most favourable point of view; and to regard merits and charms in the most exalted proportion. The austere examiner cannot wholly divest himself of this partiality; for nature is more powerful than philosophy. And this consideration alone might be an argument of sufficient encouragement to the female mind, to add the little that is required to complete and confirm its power, of contributing to social happiness. I would not be understood to inculcate, either, on the part of the men, that indiscriminate and romantic spirit of admiration, which is too often substituted to real taste for female society; nor to the ladies, that predominant passion of *being admired*, which sometimes neglects the means of rendering their society worthy of being so; but surely the facility with which

which they have the advantage of being enabled to effect that grand purpose, from the predisposition of Nature in their favour, ought to be an incitement to them to pursue and secure it. It is theirs, in a considerable degree at least, provided by the polite ordinance of Nature herself, to receive as a tribute, what men can acquire only by effort. But it is to be remembered, that the tribute is to be received, not extorted; nor be expected, except according to the laws of society, which always require reciprocation of advantage: and, whatever the fancies of poetry may suggest, will equally condemn the *unreasonable* despotism of a beauty at her toilet, or of a tyrant on his throne.

The most rigid male philosopher must allow what general consent has established as a proverbial truth, that the *powers* of conversation are more ready and more pleasing in the female sex than in his own. The same consent concurs to concede to them, superior faculty in what may be considered a companion to the other, epistolary composition; which in its best style, that is in their

their elegant hands, may be regarded as manuscript conversation.

Evidently, therefore, nature calls on those favourites of her creation, for the return she has a right to expect from their gratitude, and for their happiness, in her great family of *society* to which she recommends them. But as conversation forms one of its principal pleasures, and most constantly in enjoyment; and as they are endowed with superior qualities to excel, vivacity tempered by delicacy in the natural constitution of their mind, what injustice to themselves, and the societies they were designed to bless, if they neglect the means and the materials? Without them, the power is evidently useless. The Athenian artist could not have delighted the world with the charms of the Medicean Venus, if the marble of Paros had been wanting. ARCHIMEDES could have moved the world, if he could have found the means of applying his powers to it. Female power is not less efficient, when furnished with the materials of knowledge; and when studious of the true pleasure of pleasing, it exercises proper

proper means of reading and observation, to acquire them.

First, then, on the subject of occupation of female time, it would appear that books ought to have a distinguished place. And, as it may be advanced as an indubitable maxim, that both the advantage and entertainment of reading depend more on the author than on his professed subject, it might perhaps be laid down as a rule in consequence, that in the choice of books none should be found on the shelves of the young female reader, unless with the name of some approved author to give them sanction. This observance would exclude the whole family of anonymous story books, commonly called *novels*; from the multitude and inelegance of which, and above all, their affected and false sensibility, it is wonderful that so many fair readers should escape unhurt. Nothing can be a greater compliment to their original purity of mind and natural elegance, than being proof against so much intercourse with companions so unworthy of them.

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If I might be indulged with leave to suggest the subject of reading, which appears to unite the useful and the pleasing more than any other, I should point to the muse whom Mr. ADDISON selected for his signature to the *Spectator*; the muse of history. CLIO unites all the interest of her sister muses of the drama, with the maxims of truth, and doctrines of philosophy; whose precepts, in her sacred page, are recommended and fortified by the most brilliant examples, from the real drama of the world. PLUTARCH, it may be presumed, will be found more instructive, and not less entertaining, than the lives and loves of a circulating library. The death of ARRIA with her husband, is surely as interesting, and at least as moral, as the motley exit of ELOISA, lamenting her lover, and careless of her lord. Or, to come to examples nearer the present manners, is not the fourth HENRY of France as respectable a rake as any noble *Ruë de Paris*; and was not our own Sir PHILIP SYDNEY as accomplished a knight as even Sir CHARLES GRANDISON?

ROLLIN

ROLLIN, who was no less a critick of taste than an historian of eminence, has proved how much the latter capacity contributed to the former. His *Belle Assemblée* owed much to his *Histoire Ancienne*; and certainly the subject received reflected advantage from the charms of the discussion. Never indeed can knowledge appear so lovely, as when adorned with female elegance; nor ever are the attractions of the sex so irresistible, as when beauty is refined by understanding.

P.

NUMBER IX.—DEC. 3, 1793.

Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum. OVID.

Then gold's dug up, the source of every ill.

HAVING taken occasion, in some of my periodical observations, to animadvert on the mode of employing time, I had the satisfaction

faction a few evenings ago of hearing the subject brought into consideration in a company of gentlemen well qualified to judge.

As the result of the discussion was, that it would be a good subject for an *Observer*, I have been induced to a recollection of what passed; the spirit of which I do not know that I can more agreeably give, than by allusion to the characteristick titles of the personages who composed the immortal club of the *Spectator*: as it happened fortunately that the company consisted, though on a smaller scale, (my friends will excuse me), of many of the professional characters that constituted that distinguished society.

I must premise, as a proof of the freedom and impartiality with which the conversation flowed, unclogged by any prospect or apprehension of its appearing in print, that my *short face* was by no means so readily recognized as that of the illustrious author, whose personages I presume to borrow.

The gentleman who began the subject, we will take the liberty to distinguish by the name of Colonel Sentry: who, though

he had not fought in the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, was not unknown to the service; and who has enjoyed much of his life with those who were an honour to that honourable profession. He appeared to have rather more years and experience than some of his friends near him; which obtained him their obliging and friendly attention.

“ Few things have surprized me more,” said the Colonel, “ than the universal *spirit of play* which I have observed to prevail in all ranks and professions of men; even some of those which are generally reputed the most respectable. Trade, for instance, seems often to partake deeply of it; or, indeed, to be nearly congenial. Happily, improper examples of either occur rarely in this country; you will give me leave, therefore, to appeal to old England, where you must remember to have seen old gamblers tottering to the Alley and to 'Change, with as eager anxiety, and on as hazardous hope, as animates the young spendthrift in St. James's-street; while the coachmen and footmen of both are as busy
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in their subordinate strain, in the lobby or the ale-house, engaging for less, though not less engaged, than their masters. Not intending, however, to take the question on too wide a ground, let us observe the effects of this passion on social manners. In that point of view, without any over-strained compliment to our present society, let us only suppose an impartial person, or a well-informed man if you will, to consider the manner in which we pass our evening; and to compare it with the fashionable mode in which a set of people, for I cannot consent to give them the name either of company or society, form themselves into hostile array, make ready with their purses and bank-notes, draw up round the gaming-table, for mutual plunder, and carry on the civil war. For my own part, I have so much instruction from my friends, Sir Andrew Freeport, and the Templar, and so much elegant knowledge of the *bon ton* from my neighbour," (William Honeycomb returned a most polite bow), "that I would not exchange my present advantage for the happiness of winning a thousand pounds,

even from the best friend I have in the world."

When Mr. Honeycomb observed that the Colonel had completely concluded his remark, (for, however impatient he was to reply, no temptation could induce him to any thing like interruption;) "I am as much surprized," said he, "as my friend the Colonel can be; but not on the same ground. I am astonished, I confess, that a person of his *sçavoir vivre, un homme du monde*, can entertain such antediluvian ideas. Assuredly the compliment he has been pleased to express to our society, demands in justice more than a return on our part; for nothing, certainly, can be more our advantage than hearing him. It is, as *Spec.* says, shortly, but emphatically, *utile dulce*. But I hope our friend will have the goodness to remember the pleasure of variety; which, though I do not pretend to be a profound logician, I suppose is the same thing as variety of pleasure. Sameness of enjoyment, whatever be the subject, must pall upon the sense, as an elegant author has it; and must terminate in that most shocking of all sensations, or, if I may be allowed

allowed to say, no sensation, *ennui*. On the contrary, after edifying on the discussion of revenues and commerce of this mighty country, and admiring the military glories of our gallant heroes, and their graceful laurels; how delightful to change the scene! —to enjoy the quick return of the revenues of *Vingt-un*, and the fluctuation of commerce, at the card-table?"

"I beg pardon," interfered Sir Andrew, "I should not have interrupted Mr. Honeycomb's wit, (another bow) if his allusion to commerce had not reminded me of a remark that the Colonel began with; which, indeed, I thought a little extraordinary from a man of my friend's sense and experience. That the spirit of trade should be confounded with the spirit of gambling, I confess I did not expect to hear brought forward in account, at the close of the eighteenth century. When the credit of the nation stands higher, and by the same rule the interest of money falls lower, both at home and abroad, than at any other period, and when these great points have been effected in proportion as trade has been extended, I desire that the question

question may be fairly balanced. And it might be left on that statement, without going into any items of calculation. But if, besides, the different qualities of the subjects be considered; if it be recollected that commerce civilizes and harmonizes mankind, unites the different and distant nations of the globe into one great whole, and while it relieves the wants of the most barbarous, multiplies the enjoyments of the most refined, I trust that no fair arbitrator will bring the nature of trade on the debit side, without at least adding, errors excepted."

The Templar, who loved a game at whist, took advantage of Sir Andrew's pause, to enter his plea in favour of his clients of the card-club. "Although," said the learned advocate, "I am infinitely obliged by the complimentary opening of the Colonel, I must beg leave to differ from him in the unqualified extent with which he has laid down his principle. The case appears to me to lie in a nut-shell, and to be merely this; whether the great system of society is to be held an exclusive company of grave reasoners, prohibiting every amusement as contraband;

band; or whether an appeal will not sometimes lie from the common law of conversation, to the chancery of play; or still more directly, perhaps, to the equity and practice of the House of Lords. It may be considered whether such prohibition of cards be not trenching on Magna Charta, and ultimately affecting even the liberty of the press. Restraint of the ingenuity of the mind, in one instance, may grow into precedent for checking it in others: and in the case of cards, I aver, on the laws of calculation, there are as many moot points as can occur in the courts. Not to take up too much of your time, I shall only cite one. It is from the highest authority; *Hoyle's Reports*, p. 59. A. and C. *versus* B. and D.—a case as curious as any I have met with on the doctrine of dower, or even on the subject of last wills and testaments.—Spades trumps. A. leads the ten: B. plays the deuce:—”

—The Colonel could contain no longer.
—“Gentlemen, you give me no quarter. I might have stood my ground against Honeycomb's light troops, or even Sir Andrew's charge; but I must demand a parley, against
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the learned battery just opened; which, instead of nut-shells, as was promised, attacks me with the heaviest *canon-law* I have ever experienced. But I still should rely on the generosity of my enemy; and I trust, if the grounds of my argument were fairly understood, you would cease hostilities."—The company observing the Colonel look a little grave, pressed him to proceed:—he did, as follows:

"I hope it could not be seriously understood, that in the opinion I offered it was intended to include any of the cases that have been supposed. Morose, indeed, must be the cynick, who would censure with any severity the innocent relaxation from graver subjects, which is found in the gay and elegant circles to which Mr. Honeycomb so happily contributes; where the sacredness of female society precludes any possible excess; or in the social club of my learned friend, from whence, if we may judge from the specimen he has given us of A. and B. the eloquence of the bar seems by no means excluded. But how could my worthy friend on the other side of the table,

suppose any allusion to the honourable merchant, when I pointed to the practices of the *pseudo-trader*. In illustration of the just eulogium he has pronounced on his respectable profession, I am sure he will give me leave to quote Lord CHATHAM's stigma on those who depreciate and disgrace it. "I mean
" not, my Lords, those muck-worms of
" the Alley and vultures of the Exchange,
" who creep in the dirt of clandestine con-
" tracts, or fatten on the carrion of cor-
" ruption; those pickpockets of the publick,
" who play with the property of the state-
" creditor, and sport with the mite of the
" widow, and the orphan's pittance; those
" swindlers of the state, who sell what they
" are not possessed of, and purchase what
" they cannot pay for; I speak, my Lords,
" of the honest and industrious merchant,
" whose upright conduct is alike the ho-
" nour and support of his country; whose
" ships are seen wherever seas can bear,
" or winds can waft them; the various
" streams of whose commerce, returning in
" full tides of wealth, water the country
" with opulence."

" The

“ The desire of gain, it must be confessed, is a very general, if not an universal principle, qualified with the exception of some philosophical instances, which only prove the rule. But the honourable pursuit of fortune, is not only a praise, but a duty; and it would be extreme injustice to confound the fair fruits of genius and industry, with the spoils of cunning; or attribute the principles of vice, to the practice of virtue.

“ Yet how shall we distinguish virtue from vice, honour from dishonour, or right from wrong, in the conduct of a man devoted to play? The barriers set up by reason and religion, between the duties and the crimes of men, in every other instance, sacred and eternal in the estimation of mankind, seem to be borne down and annihilated by the force of this extraordinary passion. I do not speak of the professed and decided gambler. In his uniform mind, there is none of either the distinction or confusion that I have mentioned. It presents a *carte noire* of infamy, undisturbed by a single ray of any virtue. My position applies to the unhappy instances of noble minds

minds, debased by this ignoble vice; of men of honour, dishonouring every high quality they possess, by this vile passion;—whose hearts, not only pure and spotless, but glowing with every generous sentiment, are infected alone by this fatal gangrene, which benumbs every feeling while it predominates, and deadens the circulation and action of every virtuous affection. How shall this paradox of the human mind be accounted for? Is it possible to reconcile the contradiction, of opposite principles existing together in the same breast; of contrary affections in the same heart, and those of the most powerful nature too, Friendship and Enmity, eager each to act “up to the very height of its bent:” but both, the slaves of accident, and directed to action indifferently, as chance shall call forth the one or the other?

“ I shall suppose, for instance, two men, connected by the closest ties of friendship, and differing only in one point; Orgastes is smitten by the love of play; the passion of Eugenius is for the felicity he finds at home in his family. The nights of Orgastes are
passed

passed at the gaming-table, while Eugenius reposes on the bosom of conjugal happiness. Yet is not the latter averse from the amusements of moderate play, the *jeu de société* of a friendly party. Orgastes invites him to one of his friendly parties on a little country excursion. He leaves his happy home with reluctance; but appoints a speedy return to happiness, heightened by short absence. They proceed; and Eugenius is delighted with the wit and eloquence of his friend's friends; for they were of the first class of fashion, and talents. Play is proposed. Stakes grow high, and Eugenius hesitates; but soon stimulated by example, and absent from the happy resource to which he would have flown if he had been near his home, he is tempted to one throw. The only difficulty is in the first step; then *facilis descensus Averni*.—Eugenius is undone. And by whom?—By his friend Orgastes; by him, who, in every other possible incident of life, would have sacrificed himself for the other's happiness.—The friend then will restore to the ruined Eugenius the rapine of the gambler?—No:—Orgastes is plundered in his turn:

turn:—and if more exquisite misery can be imagined than that of the father and husband, till that curst moment the happiest that ever enjoyed those titles, it is the lot of Orgastes;—for all his friend's woes are heaped upon his head.

“Rarely, however, it must be confessed,” continued the Colonel, “are the sentiments of affection or friendship found to flourish long in the mind polluted with this passion. Habitual intercourse and participation in scenes so fatal, gradually weaken the springs of sympathy and pity. For if the frequent spectacle of executions be found sufficient to blunt the feelings of the spectators, what residuum of tenderness shall we expect in the breast of the executioner?”

“On the whole,” continued the Colonel, “whether this pernicious passion in excess, be considered on the ground of virtue or religion, in relation to morals or to manners, it will appear not blacker in its nature than ingratitude and some other odious vices, but infinitely more comprehensive in its mischiefs than any, and the cause of most. More violations of friendship, more family afflictions,

afflictions, more fraud and cruelty, more murder, and beyond comparison more suicide,—that last completion of crime, to which alone repentance is denied,—are directly derived from this source than from any other. It is the parent of vice, and the destroyer of virtue."

P.

NUMBER X.—DEC. 17, 1793.

*To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,
To raise the genius and to mend the heart;
To make mankind in conscious virtue bold,
Live o'er each scene, and be what they behold.*

POPE.

NO subject has more attracted the attention of criticks, both moral and literary, than that which is so justly praised in the polished strains of Mr. POPE.—Nothing, indeed, could more powerfully elicit all the warmth of poetry, or more deservedly justify his panegyrick, than the peculiar interest of the scenes he so nobly describes. The
prologuist

prologuist of CATO glows with the patriot flame of his author's hero. To pronounce the eulogium of Roman virtue, requires a sympathy with Roman sentiment, and the power of Roman eloquence. The poet rises with the towering theme, and becomes "himself the great sublime he draws."

But in considering the general utility of the stage, in its effects on the sentiments and conduct of men, I believe it has been seldom disputed that more advantage is derived, because deeper impression is felt, from the exhibition of domestick scenes, than the representation of royal distress, with which tragedy so pompously abounds; or than even from the sufferings of heroick virtue. And I conceive this remark is to be supported, not merely because domestick interests are more general and better understood by mankind, than those which affect persons in elevated stations, or who move in the higher walks of life; but from the nature of the subject itself.

Disappointments of ambition, defeats in battle, or the loss even of empire, although of mighty sound and apparent magnitude,
do

do not penetrate the heart with the same poignancy as ungrateful friendship, faithless love, and domestick despair. Those exalted calamities arrest our wonder, rather than our feelings. They dazzle and awe like the thunder, crushing the pride of palaces and towers; but the winged flash comes armed with sharper woe, that finds its fatal way to the humble temple of domestick happiness. In the great events of the world, misfortunes make other impressions than those of grief and despondency on the great minds which they assail. "Descent and fall," (if in speaking of great men we may be allowed to borrow one quality from MILTON'S unfortunate heroes,) is adverse to the nature of ambition, which, "in its proper motion ascends, up to its native seat." The bustle and action of the great subjects, agitated by publick men, animate their exertions. The general applause, if in a good cause, rewards; or even in a bad one, the attention of mankind in some degree supports their sufferings. But where is the palliative, where the relief, for the silent sorrows of domestick affliction?

But

But the sympathy of the spectator must be in proportion to the feelings represented in the scene. Who, therefore, ever felt the same interest in the fury of *BAJAZET*, as in the lovely madness of *BELVIDERA*? And is not the virtuous tenderness of *OCTAVIA*, infinitely more affecting than all the meretricious pomp of *CLEOPATRA*; whose love might be more conspicuous, but could not be more ennobled, by the contest for kingdoms, and the fate of empire?

The revival of theatrical exhibitions in this country having recalled to my mind the foregoing train of ideas, I should feel much satisfaction if, by any application of them in the selection of dramatick subjects for representation, they might avail in any degree to contribute to the publick entertainment or advantage. The elegance with which these representations are prepared and decorated, and the ability with which they are performed, give the most flattering promise of successful continuance to this delightful amusement.

The Theatre was well opened, for the cultivation, no doubt, of a good under-

standing with its future critical acquaintance, with the admirable wit of our modern CONGREVE, the *Critick* of Mr. SHERIDAN. Nothing more promotes the interests of true taste and literature, than the exposure of what is false or unnatural. And there can be no more powerful mode of exposing it, than the happy irony and pointed wit of this incomparable piece.

The next performance which I observe selected for representation, promises by its title, the same instruction to young travellers who enter on the journey of life; to direct them to the right road, by pointing out the wrong; and it is to be hoped will be equally successful with the other dramatick lesson.

The merry philosopher had more followers than the melancholy sage; for it is pleasanter to be laughed out of follies, or even vices, than to be terrified with the example of contrition, and the sufferings of the guilty. Comedy, therefore, has always been a more general favourite than her tragick sister. But as each derives new beauty from the contrast of their charms, it is hoped that

foon

soon again, "the tragick muse will tread the stage:"—And if the sentiments be just, which I have taken the liberty of stating, that she will appear in a domestick dress.

P.

NUMBER XI.—DECEMBER 24, 1793.

*Safe from the Bar, the Pulpit, and the Throne,
And touch'd and sham'd by RIDICULE alone.*

POPE.

THAT there is no corrective of more influence on the minds and manners of mankind, than Ridicule, is, I believe, generally admitted; though its comparative power is seldom so well expressed, as in the comprehensive distich of the poet.

Yet it is to be remarked, that he regards only one side of the subject; and it is to be lamented, that the reverse of the medal presents us with an ample view of the mischievous effects of this weapon in improper hands; more powerful, perhaps, in the cause of Fol-

ly, Vice, and Irreligion, than in the legitimate service of Reason and Virtue.

Truth is often too confident in her own strength, and expects victory from the consciousness that her doctrines are irrefragable and immutable. But it is not by convictions of reason that men are actuated. The rudder may be powerful enough, and even that, not always to guide; but it is the gale that impels the ship. Vice and folly know this full well; and, to direct the bark to its destined course, call in to their aid the tempting breezes of pleasure, the side-wind of interest, or the storms of passion and ambition.

Didactic morals ought not to disdain the auxiliary assistance of powerful allies; whose merits, in themselves neuter, are determined by the cause in which they serve. Even the mercenary soldier is not to be fastidiously neglected, and left to the service of the wiser enemy. The passions, it is to be apprehended, are not altogether volunteers in virtue; they ought not, however, to be pressed, though they may honestly enough be tempted into the alliance. Well commanded,

manded, and in a good cause, they will do at least Knight's service.

To bring over the passions to the side of virtue, as it must be allowed to be the most useful, so will it certainly be found the most pleasing exercise of genius. If virtue could only be seen, says CICERO, in an eloquent flight of philosophy, she would appear so lovely, that the affections of all men would be captivated by her charms. It will, therefore, be no mean praise to succeed, by graces of picturesque description, to render her as visible as may be; at least to the mind's eye.

To expose, on the contrary, in the strong colours of wit and eloquence, the specious affectations of vice and folly, and to impress their deformities on the imagination, will arm the feelings as well as the judgment of mankind; and will have a much better chance, not only of deterring, but correcting.

It is good, according to the common saying, to get the laughers on one's side. Is it not in every day's experience, that a tenacious arguer shall be proof against every proof

proof of reason and fair argument,—ay, and against fact too,—and absolutely invincible by any thing but the laugh of the company? This is certainly fair warfare against such doughty disputants. It may, perhaps, be called fair argument also; as being the exercise of that distinguishing quality peculiar to man as a rational being; *animal rationale, risibile*, &c. However that may be, it appears from the “*risum teneatis*” of HORACE, that the laugh against impropriety is at least classical; and we learn from the general tenour of his own admirable humour, that the best judge of moral poeticks knew and practised in high perfection, as an essential friend to his moral cause, the power of Ridicule.

It is not extraordinary that our modern satirist, who possessed that power in so great a degree, and who so well imitated the Roman wit, should pronounce an high panegyrick on the quality he excelled in; and which so essentially availed him and his brother-wits in their Augustan age, against both critical and political antagonists. It is true, however, that it was sometimes unfairly

fairly employed, even by them ; though by no means with the licence or abuse, to which the licentious wits of CHARLES'S court perverted it. They, as JOHNSON well says,——

——“Found easier ways to fame,
“Nor wish'd for JONSON'S art, or SHAKESPEAR'S
flame.”

For it is easier to ridicule religion, than to enforce the interest of virtue with moral judgment or enlightened genius,

To the credit of English taste and good sense, the examples of the ROCHESTERS and BUCKINGHAMS of that dissolute court, have not been followed by the succeeding wits of their country. And if the power of Ridicule was fatally found injurious to morals and decorum in their hands, and in the indiscriminate praise of it by SHAFTESBURY, as a test of truth ; it has fortunately, in later and better times, ranged under the immortal banner it had attempted in vain to attack. We have seen it legitimately employed by the finest talents in the noblest cause ; and if the wits of France abused the powers of their
raillery

raillery in turning to jest the sacred tenets of religion, we have seen the acumen of SWIFT, turning their own arms against them, pointed with his peculiar fire; and vindicating, with victorious ridicule, the true doctrines of the church, against the moderation of Jack, and the dry crusts of Peter.

Nor must his incomparable ridicule be forgotten, in his generous defence of ancient literature. His sublime humour, in the battle of the Library, firmly seated HOMER and PINDAR on their Pegasus, and fairly routed the galled jades of the moderns.

The name of CERVANTES must occur to every admirer of fine humour and its eminent success. The follies of a nation, the madness of the world, sunk under the magical power of reason, armed with the wit of genuine ridicule; the frenzy of chivalry was reduced to the scale of reason, and the spirit of honour.

It is not pleasant to recur to the abuse of so noble a faculty. But the principle of true humour, distorted by modern opinion and practice, reminds us, with a sigh, how widely it has aberrated from the sage scale of reason.

reason. But the mischief is not wholly modern. The fatal shaft of ridicule, misdirected, was of force to bear down the rational dignity, and real honour, of one of the most accomplished noblemen in the accomplished court of Queen ELIZABETH. He was insulted by a contemptible fop. His magnanimity despised the insult, and looked down on the wretch that offered it. But the fear of ridicule, the only fear in his breast, reduced him to a level beneath him —“How can I appear at court,” said he to his friends, “if I do not meet this fellow? How will the maids of *honour* regard me?”

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER XII.—JAN. 21, 1794.

The sweet enthusiast, from her *sacred* store;
Enlarged the former narrow bounds;
And added length to *solemn sounds*,
With nature's mother-wit, and arts unknown
before. DRYDEN.

HAVING taken occasion, in a former paper, to offer a few remarks on the sister-arts of Poetry and Painting, I embrace with much pleasure the present opportunity of considering a sweetly congenial subject, the charms and the powers of Musick.

The former considerations were suggested by contemplation of the eminence which the Painter's art has attained among us; so high, even in this limited and remote society, as not easily to be exceeded in its own genial soil, or in scenes of the most extensive example and encouragement. For where can be more justly admired the exquisite touches of the pencil, animating the ivory with the improved elegance of minuteness, while it preserves, in the faithful feature, the constant memorial

memorial of an absent friend *? Where can be more completely displayed, *en grand*, the characteristick virtues of the statesman and the warrior; or the pious dignity of the venerable sage †;—the well-finished book of life closing before him, and seeming to give place to visions of immortality! Nor are wanting the noblest monuments of the art; historical records to posterity, of the scenes of conquest and glory that have distinguished this country; of conquest, sharing her triumphs with clemency; and of glory, crowning in death her favourite son ‡.

My readers must at once anticipate the occasion that suggests my present subject, in recollecting the refined and exalted enter-

* The miniatures and drawings by Mr. SMART.

† The pictures of Lord C. Gen. M. and Mr. B. by Mr. HOME.

‡ The reception by Lord C. of the Hostage-Princes, by Mr. HOME and Mr. DAVIS: and the death of Col. MOORHOUSE, by Mr. H. To this immediate circle of society, it would have been unnecessary to specify particulars. But the Observer hopes it will not appear foreign to his purpose, to advert to such interesting Indian subjects; and especially to point out to his remoter readers, the pleasing reflection, that talents are found in India, adequate to the high task of recording them.

tainment

tainment soon to be given to the publick ear, in the performance of selected sacred musick. Dull, indeed, would be the observation, and cold the sentiments, that were not impressed and attracted by a subject in itself and its purposes so sacred, and in this country so perfectly novel.

The powerful influence of musick has been so generally felt and acknowledged in all ages, that it seems almost unnecessary to expatiate on it with any illustrations. Nothing, indeed, can more plainly prove its paramount power over the mind, than its ancient honours in the earlier ages of mankind; when it was the chosen medium for the publication and recommendation of the laws; for inculcating the doctrines of morality, and the examples of history; and for inciting to the practice of the highest duties, the precepts of religion, and the worship of the gods. Codes and systems of these divine and moral duties were compiled in verse, and chaunted in full choral assembly of the people; for verse and song were synonymous. It is well known, that from the first great example and father of epick poetry, to the wild

wild warblings of our own minstrel bards, the author was the finger of his own works. Musick was his only means of publication; and Apollo his only patron. And it is observable among our polished neighbours of the continent, on the classic ground of Italy, where though not in such bright blaze, yet certainly are to be found traces of the ancient flame, the *improvvisatori*, or extempore composers of verses, are obliged to have recourse to the auxiliary powers of Musick.

Poetry, indeed, implies in some degree, the properties of musick. It is one of the branches into which this great and extensive subject is divided; *musica poetica*; metrical sound being evidently a species of harmony. *Musica harmonica*, however, is contradistinguished to the other five parts into which PORPHYRY distributes this comprehensive art, as the science of disposing and conducting sounds, vocal and instrumental, separating them at just intervals, or combining with due proportion and relation to each other. This noble skill, embracing the other lovely
 . harmony

harmony of poetry, or, in MILTON'S warm expression,

" Married to immortal verse.

is omnipotent over every passion. It regulates the violence of rage, and animates the languor of despondency; it assuages the stings of pain, and gives new sense to pleasure; it calls forth the best energies of the soul; and while its universal command can subdue and correct the vices of the mind, it knows also to exalt the noblest virtues by its divine enthusiasm.

On the sublimest of all subjects, it is peculiarly observable, that the power of music triumphs over other arts. In them the greatest masters have in vain attempted to personify to the imagination the ineffable attributes of the Deity, or to represent the sacred mysteries of immortal existence. The infernal regions of ANGELO or DANTE, though blazoned with the brightest colouring that painting or poetry could give them, disappoint the mind with expression evidently and infinitely imperfect. Of the former,

former, indeed, though from a genius so sublime, the effect to the eye has appeared directly the contrary to what the imagination expects; and the flaming limbs of the dæmons are perhaps truly criticised, as rather ridiculous than terrible.

If any glance of mortal ken could soar "from earth to heaven," or penetrate the mysteries of other worlds, it may fairly be pronounced, even by English criticks, without any imputation of partiality, that, the poet of Paradise possessed the peculiar power. Certainly, the sublime horrors of hell have never been so powerfully pourtrayed by human imagination; and his astonishing creative genius has with more daring wing than any other, passed "the flaming bounds."

But the most that genius can do, is to create new combinations of ideas originally received through the senses. So received, they are compared, distinguished, and classed, or mixed and multiplied, by reflection. But the materials can be only supplied from the experience of sensation: and invention is no more than the discovery of new modes of representing them. It is to be feared, therefore,

fore, that if MILTON succeeded better in his description of the fallen angels, than of those who enjoyed

“Heaven’s purest light,”

that the cause may be traced to the imperfections of human nature; less qualified by experience to imagine the perfect purity of the divine attributes and celestial enjoyments, than the errors of disobedience and pride, and their consequent punishments.

For the warmest admirer of our immortal poet must confess, that even his

“Seraph-wing of extacy,”

fails under him, when he aspires to display the glories of heaven, and the Majesty of the Almighty.

So in his truly sacred poem, of *Paradise Regained*, the powers even of his fancy cannot avail him. Heaven is too high for mortal wing to soar: too vast for human understanding to comprehend: too perfect for poetical panegyrick to praise.—In the emphatical words of the great critick on the subject of Sacred Poetry, no less eminent
for

for the acumen of his mind than the piety of his heart, "Omnipotence cannot be ex-
"alted; Infinity cannot be amplified; Per-
"fection cannot be improved."

If the noblest strains of poetry and sublimest images of painting be thus defective, they must yield the palm to the power of sacred musick; which, though it cannot amplify or improve infinity or perfection, can yet exalt the soul more highly than any other human means, to adore them; and inspire more of the sublime and enthusiastick fervour suitable to the sacred subject:—

"Can take the prison'd soul;—

"And lap it in Elysium."

On this sublime effect of sacred song, the feelings of every hearer must speak for themselves. To them the appeal may safely be made, if we may judge from the experience of the late celebrated commemoration of HANDEL, in his own immortal musick. As the full choir was animated with but one unison strain, and every concurring instrument poured forth the same swell of harmony, so the transported hearers seemed to

be informed with but one soul; and all that soul to be possessed alone with the sacred enthusiasm.

It is evidently impossible to reason on effects like these.—The best explanation will be found, perhaps, in the high praise and preference which the great poet gives to the sister-art which he admired.

- “ But let my due feet never fail
- “ To walk the studious cloysters pale,
- “ And love the high embowed roof,
- “ With antique pillars, massy proof,
- “ And storied windows richly dight,
- “ Casting a dim religious light :
- “ There let the pealing organ blow
- “ To the full-voiced choir below ;
- “ In service high, and anthems clear,
- “ As may with sweetness thro’ mine ear
- “ Dissolve me into extasies,
- “ And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.”

P.

NUMBER XIII.—JAN. 28, 1794.

Song charms the Sense, and Eloquence the Soul.

MILTON.

MR. OBSERVER,

I HOPE you will by no means imagine, from the motto I have chosen, that any invidious comparison is intended between the powers of Musick and of Oratory. No man is more charmed with the concord of sweet sounds than myself. And if I submit to you a few thoughts on the subject of Eloquence, and a very brilliant example of its extraordinary excellence from a great and venerable master, you will please to consider my present address, more as a theme for any further observation you may make on the power of the Arts, than a disputation against those with which you have already favoured the publick.

History in its brightest æras furnishes abundant and constant proof of the commanding power of Oratory. It roused na-

tions from their lethargy; and lighted up the dormant fires of patriotism: it rallied retreating armies in the field; and in the publick councils, and the forum, led obedient senates, and fixed the wavering multitude: it directed, in every state, the publick voice and action; and, in the most perilous events, dictated the fate of empire. The thunder of DEMOSTHENES repelled the power, and baffled the corrupt policy of PHILIP: the patriot fire of CICERO annihilated CATILINE, and saved the Mistress of the World; and the Orator was acknowledged the father of his country:—so Virtue “was crowned,” but Eloquence “won the cause.”

What must have been its sublime effects, supported by such auxiliaries as virtue and patriotism, and directed to such an object as the happiness of mankind, when we see it so powerful even to the basest purposes of interest and ambition, and in wicked confederacy with most baneful principles? Its great scenes of exertion are those, which are in themselves most eventful in their consequences; national commotions, and revolutions

tions of kingdoms. From these premises, the modern eye naturally turns to that unhappy country, which for four fatal years has been the theatre of national calamity. And he who traces the progress of that calamitous drama, from the first act of deposition of royalty in the national senate, to the murderous catastrophe on the national scaffold, will see how the abuse of popular eloquence prevailed, to madden the multitude; and if not intended to effect the final mischief, as lately has been suggested in some posthumous proofs, yet how fatally powerful it was to light a flame that could not be extinguished. The extraordinary talents of MIRABEAU, and their omnipotent effect in the Assembly of France, are too well known. And though it may be some consolation to those, whose love of human nature revolts from the unnatural association of the blackest vices with the brightest abilities, to find that his were not the principles which have since been acted upon, to the horror of mankind; yet, giving him credit, as CATO's candour did to CÆSAR, for some better qualities, but taking the eloquence of both into
the

the account, may we not exclaim against the French demagogue, with the Roman patriot against the dictator,

"Curse on his virtues! They've undone his country,"

But to turn to the more pleasing view of the subject, where the finest talents combat on the side of truth, we have seen their triumph in the noblest cause; in the cause of religion, law, and order; in defence of every sacred post and barrier, essential not alone to the security and happiness of mankind, but to the very existence of society. The sublime comprehension of that penetrating genius *, which in the early dawn of democracy, saw the destructive principle of general conflagration that was to flame in its meridian, gave the alarm to the world; and his warning voice was heard. The baleful influence, threatening every confine of humanity, was averted; and the portentous meteor, consumed in its own fires, passes away for ever.

My subject has led me further than I intended; and into some observations, which, though

* Mr. BURKE.

though collateral to it, may seem, perhaps, not quite consistent with the plan you have hitherto pursued. For I have remarked, Mr. *Observer*, that among the various topicks you have touched on, no political discussion has found a place. I assure you it is by no means my intention to institute one; but my subject naturally involved allusion to its great masters, and the political scene of their powers.—When you consider painting, poetry, or musick, your examples are from RAPHAEL, MILTON, or HANDEL: can modern oratory be better illustrated, than by the names of BURKE, FOX, or SHERIDAN?

Another name remains,

—“*Clarum et venerabile nomen—Gentibus,*”—

the celebrity of which in this noble talent, whether we contemplate the fame of the father, or the son's hereditary genius, is an eminent proof of the transcendent powers of oratory. But with every respect for the present name of PITT, and the eminent abilities now displayed in the British Senate, I believe it will be agreed that their most brilliant

brilliant exertions can hardly equal the sublime eloquence of the late Lord CHATHAM.

In the immediate dearth of moderate debate, it may not, I hope, be unacceptable to your readers, if you insert the following eloquent specimen of the old school, pronounced by the great orator, on the employment of the American Indians in the war.

In the course of the debate on an address to his Majesty, Nov. 17, 1777, Lord SUFFOLK, secretary of state, had defended that measure, on the principle, "that it was justifiable to use all the means that God and Nature put into our hands."

* "I am astonished!" (exclaimed Lord CHATHAM, as he rose)—"shocked! to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this house, or in this country; principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian!"

* This speech of Lord CHATHAM's has already appeared in the 1st vol. of this work, but it is so closely connected with the subject of the paper, that it cannot well be expunged, without destroying the effect of the foregoing and subsequent observations. E.

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“ My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention: but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. ‘That God and Nature put into our hands!’ I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and Nature; but I know, that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. —What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating; literally, my Lords, eating the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

“ These

“These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God: I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and support the justice of their country: I call upon the Bishops, to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution: I call upon the honour of your Lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own: I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character: I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble Lord* frowns with indignation at the

* Lord EFFINGHAM.—Lord EFFINGHAM HOWARD was Lord High Admiral of England against the Spanish Armada; the destruction of which is represented in the tapestry.

disgrace

disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the Protestant religion, of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the inquisition, if these more than Popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us; to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war! hell-hounds, I say, of savage war. Spain armed herself with blood-hounds, to extirpate the wretched natives of America; and we improve on the inhuman example, even of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion;

religion; endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity,

"My Lords; this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry. And I again call upon your Lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the publick abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion, to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration; let them purify this house, and this country, from this sin.

"My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles."

Such was the sudden burst of eloquence, that I am persuaded, if the question could have been instantly put to the vote, their

Lordships

Lordships would have forgotten they were politicians, and remembered only they were men: that the decision would have been without a dissent; and that he would have effected as a speaker, what he had perfected in his glorious war as a minister;—"without dividing, to destroy party; without corrupting to make a venal age unanimous."

I fear I have transgressed your limits, but, I hope, not your plan. Without, however, risking either further,

I remain, your's,

HORTENSIVS.

I am much obliged to my correspondent HORTENSIVS; and accept, in perfect good part, his explanation, that while he extols his favourite art, he means not to depreciate any other. Nor can his essay, and the eminent instance he adduces, be considered as foreign to the plan of a paper, one humble part of which was originally intended for the discussion of subjects of literature; especially as he has, if not by comparison, by juxtaposition, brought back the mind to the
topick

topick of my last, which so immediately claims the attention and praise of every *Indian Observer*; SACRED MUSICK.

HORTENSIVS, I hope, will not have failed to attend the noble performance, intended for the noblest object. He will then bear witness to the wonders of that divine art; and if his favourite orator of Rome, who, it may be observed, knew the merits of melody, from the correcting musick he employed to regulate his voice,—if pleading for clemency to his client, he could extort tears from CÆSAR, in the seat of judgment;—the enthusiastick strains of harmony, heightening eloquence, more sacred, and certainly not less sublime, the eloquence of Holy Writ itself, the hallowed fire that touched the inspired lips of the prophets;—consecrated strains surely will not be found less powerful, to actuate the bosom with the finest feelings, and to sway the best affections of the heart to the noblest purposes.

I shall conclude these considerations with a remarkable instance of the influence of these united powers, eloquence of style and composition of harmony, in sacred musick.

It

It is well known that the celebrated Doctor SWIFT was a most orthodox admirer of this grand subject, and eminently attentive to improve it in his famous cathedral of St. Patrick. None of the arts, however, had in those days advanced in much progress of improvement in Ireland. She had long warbled her own wild notes with native melody; but HANDEL had been more heard of, than heard. His divine compositions were little known, and oratorios only coming into fashion.

A certain noble Lord, though not of very sacred manners, meeting the Dean at the first performance of the Messiah, was, however, so struck with the sublimity both of the music and the words, that he begged to know from the Dean, the author of the latter. "Will you read his Book, my Lord," says SWIFT, "if I lend it to you?"—"Most certainly, my dear Doctor:—he writes admirably."—SWIFT sent him a Bible:—and his Lordship was a convert.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER XIV.—FEB. 11, 1794.

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas—

OVID.

Of transformations new and strange I tell.

AMONG the extraordinary discoveries with which this ingenious age has abounded, none appear more curious than a late experiment in chemicks, which is said to have succeeded admirably. Modern ingenuity seems, indeed, to have abundantly surpassed ancient researches, not only in the success, but in the subjects of its exercise. The transmutation of metals, for example, it is well known, employed the learned attention of centuries; and the distinguished epithets of the Greek orators was transferred to certain golden philosophers of the crucible, who pursued through a disappointed life the rich dream of *alchemy*. Their want of success is the more to be lamented, as their pursuit was doubtlessly disinterested, and persevered in merely for the advancement of learning.

The

The process, however, still remains fruitless; and the subject of it, it is to be feared, will long continue the grand *desideratum* in the world of science.

But the newly acquired knowledge may be considered at least as equivalent in point of curiosity, and more so as to use. The change of lead or iron into gold, though it carries with it something very pleasing to the imagination, would be found in effect little advantageous to the Midas who should accomplish it, or to the Peru or Mexico where it should be accomplished.—The modern discovery, on the contrary, of the transmutability of the human body to a *spermæti candle*, (for such is the extraordinary subject of the ingenious and successful research to which I allude) cannot fail of being equally beneficial to the projector and the publick.

My reader will probably be as much surprised, as I confess myself to have been, if he has not happened to meet with an account of this transformation, in some of the late publications. But it comes to us so circumstantially related, that by a new pro-

cess of chemistry just discovered, the best spermaceti may be procured from dead human bodies, that it challenges peculiar attention.

Whether this new metamorphose be considered in a moral or literary light, it will be found equally satisfactory. No mean master of philosophy, the universal SHAKESPEARE, has already moralized on the contrasted state to which the material part of us, even of kings and heroes, is subject :

“ Imperious CÆSAR, dead and turn’d to clay,
“ Might stop a hole to keep the wind away :
“ O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
“ Should patch a wall, t’expel the winter’s flaw !”

How much more pleasing the contemplation, especially to the literary labourer, that his earthy part, after having been animated by the genius of his mind, should not degenerate into the unworthy offices foreseen by Hamlet; but, on the contrary, should aspire to the generous purpose of repaying the favours it had received from its old companion—of shining with grateful flame on the study of those very pages, which

which the labours of the mind had composed by the less brilliant glimmerings of the lamp!

It was long a doubt among the learned, whether spermaceti were a mineral or an animal substance. On that head, if any difference of opinion could have remained, it would now be entirely cleared up in favour of the latter hypothesis, by the late noble experiment; proving, exclusively of its cetaceous origin, from which the favourers of that hypothesis deduce it, that it may be procured from a much nobler animal subject, "not very like a whale," to recur to Hamlet again, but much superior.

It is to be observed, that in considering this novel question, it is only regarded in a philosophical point of view; contradistinguished to any judgment that may be formed on its propriety, considered on more high and solemn grounds. The advantages of the science of anatomy to the conservation of health and prolongation of life, are too well known to be insisted on; and the penitent practice of malefactors becoming benefactors to their country, by the disposal of

D d 2

their

their personal property after their decease, appears to have flourished in the time of the Spectator, from the bargain recorded by him, sold by "a Bite who was to be hanged in chains." Whether this particular privilege should be extended, and a general power of self-alienation be allowed, even for the useful and new lights intended by the modern discovery, it is not for an humble observer to decide:—doubtless, the present luminaries of church and state will either warmly support, or entirely extinguish, the new project, as it may deserve. In the mean time, supposing it not to be snuffed out the moment it has been lighted, it may be varied into more general view; and we may be permitted to speculate on the various supply that might be found from human nature, for the different sorts of lights required in the purposes of life.

The relation between body and mind, though not particularly understood, is generally admitted; and their reciprocal influence is universally felt. It is pretty clear, therefore, in distributing the several subjects of the supposed corporeal *translumination*,
that

that the character which each has sustained before it, is to regulate the class of luminary in which he is posthumously to shine. So it may appear literally, according to the beautiful metaphor of the poet,

"Even in our ashes live our wonted fires."

Indian objects naturally occur to Indian observation, and the most splendid first strike the eye. The high Behauder, for instance, when his mortal fire is out, would blaze away with peculiar propriety in the brilliant branch-lights that we have heard of in Calcutta, preceding the pomp; while the buck might continue to burn in a flaming massaul, still lighting the nocturnal lads, as Falstaff proposed to his luminous friend Bardolph; who may be mentioned, indeed, on this occasion, as at the same time an anticipation of the plan, and an authority for the practice.

The native chiefs who shine in war, might continue in splendour, lighted up on the walls they have defended; or more naturally still, in rockets to be thrown from them: and the brunette beauties of the country, not less killing, could add the brightness of
their

their eyes to the brilliancy of the blue-lights, and still dazzle the beholders.

The gentle maiden, untimely torn from a world she had just began to adorn, should still beam the purest ray from the virgin-wax taper, to communicate the chaste affections of surviving lovers; and the nuptial torch should be lighted at the same instant by the united and "wonted fires" of the happy wedded pair who had lived and died together; and who shine a constant and equal example of the holy flame.

Spendthrifts would be candles lighted at both ends, and a miser would continue to die, as the snuff of a wick on a save-all. The little ductile wax, lighted without warmth, might, like its constituent the *petit maitre*, attend his mistress to the toilet, and then—go out; while the bully, vapouring below in a huge flambeau, should emit volumes of smoke from very little fire.

The hypocrite, the traitor to his friend, the systematick seducer, the deep designer of fraud, and the man of self, would be all worthy candidates for the honour of illuminating one side of the dark lantern.

Irafcible

Irafcible men, fubject to fudden fits and ftarts of paffion, would bounce about very naturally in fquibs and crackers; and if obftinately cholerick, might arrive at the dignity of fire-works.

A plain fteady man, and a decent mould candle, might agree very well; but a dirty fellow fhould be a dipped tallow; and a mean fcoundrel a farthing candle.

Authors would very naturally be ardent to relumine their garrets; and the plagiarift would be quite at home, as a thief in their candle.

How admirably would democrats be difplayed in firebrands,—and the advocates for equality crackle in a general conflagration.

Lawyers, according to the ufe of the legal lights of their “brief candle” in life, would either guide the dark way of the traveller, from the friendly beacon; or puzzle him, as *ignes fatui*, in the labyrinth.

Bonfires, rejoicing for glorious fuccesses, would require the ardour of the foldier who had fallen to acquire them:—patriots and heroes would burn in the frankincense, and ftill live grateful to the fenfe of their country:—

try:—and the man of God might continue to enlighten the people, from the watch-tower on high.

P.

NUMBER XV.—FEB. 25, 1794.

Hail, wedded love, mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole propriety
In Paradise, of all things common else.
By thee adult'rous lust was driven from men,
Among the bestial herds to range; by thee
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure.
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were known.

[MILTON.]

IT will not appear extraordinary that the subject of marriage, should in all ages and countries, have so much attracted the attention, both of legislators and philosophers, when it is recollected that no event in human life is so essentially important to mankind.

There is a common, but not the less forcible expression, in speaking of those of
either

either sex who enter into the holy state of matrimony, "that they have changed their situation." Much, certainly, is to be inferred from this emphatical phrase; absolute change of situation implying a dereliction of objects which had surrounded one's former place, or post in society; and, in consequence, as nature permits not *a vacuum*, other objects and lines of relation must arise, and a new perspective be displayed to the mind's eye.

It is on this ground, of a totally new train of ideas being generated in those who make this important change in their situation, that some refining casuists scruple not to maintain that the whole identity of the person is altered; and that the new-married benedicks and blushing brides, especially if they have been at all antiquated in their respective previous capacities, become quite different men and women.

Whether this be not pushing a little too far Mr. LOCKE's system, of consciousness being the criterion of a man's being himself, is too delicate a point to be rashly decided on; especially when applied to so serious a subject

subject as matrimony; for, from admitting it in too much latitude, consequences inconvenient enough both to the dignity and permanence of wedlock might ensue. The argument might be too retrospective; and sometimes, perhaps, prove that the unconscious lover, absent to every thing and every thought but the charms of his mistress, was beside himself, as the phrase is, a little too soon; and before his other self was legitimately communicated to him.

But I rather conceive that these particular considerations ought not to be too curiously pursued, and that the question should be viewed on the fairest ground, and with the most respectful and candid consideration, — in the words of MILTON, who, grand on every subject, and peculiarly so on this, “with mysterious reverence.”

It is remarkable, however, that this illustrious authority, to whom I am obliged in my motto for his sublime eulogy on WEDDED LOVE, is among the foremost of those who would impair the inviolability of the matrimonial sanction, still more than is admitted even in the laxity of modern manners,

ners, by the defence and recommendation of divorce on principles unthought of in the less refined provisions of our jurisprudence; on grounds merely of mental dissatisfaction, or disagreement of temper.

This spiritual doctrine of divorce maintained by MILTON, might consist very well with his sensibility; as it evidently originated in his mind from the misfortune of his matrimonial adventure. But it does not appear to have made any impression on the feelings or judgments of men since his time till the present; which, among the other wonders it has teemed with, has brought forward in higher perfection than was imagined even by MILTON, his favourite system.

I do not recollect to have seen this new plan of matrimonial variety brought forward to much public notice: though it has flourished with infinite success in France for a year or two past: and has been happily transplanted to the genial clime of Mauritius. But it does not appear, with other democratical doctrines of independent rights, to have reached our Indian coasts.

It

It is peculiarly observable, and not a little in favour of the modern patriots of France, that they should have the honour of reviving and effecting the free-spirited plan of the celebrated secretary of CROMWELL. Theirs, indeed, seems to have improved on that of MILTON, as might be expected when it is considered that his was a partial measure in his own cause; limited and defined too in a very strict manner, as admissible only in cases of incurable discord and aversion.—But our more liberal and galânt reformers of the new republic dispense their unmarrying licence on the broad bottom of unrestrained inclination:—except, indeed, in one particular; which seems to be a great concession on the part of these sticklers for the rights of men and women:—a month's notice, as in the case of hired servants, must be given to the wife before she is turned off:—and *vice versa*. This, however, is very humanely calculated in favour of the person to be repudiated, and seems to excel the ancient *Laconic* code of LYCURGUS; which must be confessed

to

to have been a little too precipitate as well as promiscuous. Little option was left to the Spartan dame, as to subsequent choice, and little time to exercise it; but a whole month of grace is allowed to the fair modern republican, to discriminate between successive suitors, and select a second husband. By this equitable provision it may so occur, that though constant revolutions happen in the family, the wife, like the *royal person*, shall never die; but that the matrimonial, like the royal crowns, without ever suffering an interval of singleness, shall demise instantaneously. Thus every month brings its husband; and the whole year may be a round of *honey-moons*!

The minute regulations of the *nouveau code matrimonial*, so it is called, do equal credit to the inventors of this variegated wedlock. The appropriation of the family, naturally attracted much attention; but the refined rules adopted on that subject might be tiresome in detail. Suffice it to observe, that the obvious distribution of nature is attended to; in consigning the daughters

daughters to the care of their mother; the sons, to the father; and, as in the instance of royalty again, preference is given and obedience paid to the reigning husband. So, *rex de facto* is always supposed *rex de jure*.

But the most shining distinction of this liberal code, is the reference of all matrimonial duties, to the commonwealth, as opposed to every religious establishment. All sanctions and considerations of religion are utterly annihilated, and patriotism alone occupies the soul. Marriage rites are no more: the awful altar no more consecrates the trembling vow of the blushing maiden:—now, under trees of liberty, the fearless bride pronounces her promise,——“to love, honour, and obey” the equal laws, the appetites and instincts of pure natural society;—and to be a true and staunch subject of the Republick.

I do not know that I should have been induced to attend so much to this subject, curious as it is, if accounts had not lately occurred of its having, as hinted before, found its way

way with much success on this side the Cape, and actually paired and unpaired many happy couples, in the Isle of France. But I have been incited to give it the more observation, in our matrimonial sphere, from the conscious triumph which society here must feel, and for the advantage which contrast gives. The experiment was, perhaps, cruel to the wretched Helot; but it proved the judgment of the master, who intoxicated his slave to be exhibited in that brutal state, as an example of disgust to the youth of Sparta.—But here, it is only for the pleasure of regarding the contrast, the happy and triumphant contrast, of constancy and love, to fickleness and folly.

Surely no warning example can be wanting, where eminent patterns for admiration and imitation fill the married and the constant scene:—examples so pre-eminent in this country, as contradistinguished to most others, that I doubt not my reader has anticipated me; from experience, if married; if single, from observation; that from whatever happy coinciding causes, society in this country can boast more constancy, domestic
tick

tick attachment, and matrimonial happiness, than most.—If, oh! mysterious law! the base profanation of thy name and duties obtained attention, it was to bring forward thy transcendent charms in higher lustre—for to conclude, as I began, with the great poet:—

“ Far be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
 “ Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
 “ Perpetual fountain of domestick sweets!
 “ Whose bed is undefiled and chaste pronounced,
 “ Present or past, as saints and patriarchs used.
 “ Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights
 “ His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings.”

P.

NUMBER XVI.—MARCH 18, 1794.

Nil mihi rescribas, attamen ipse veni.

No chit; but call your boys, and come yourself.

MADRAS TRANSLATOR.

WHAT a transition it would be from the delectable lounge, of legs on one corner of the table, and pens and ink on the other, to the jolting

jolting springs of country-made carriages, or the grunts of country-made carriers, commonly called palankeen-boys; instead of writing florid epistles on every possible subject, friends in this country were to adopt the friendly hint of the Roman poet,—and meet and converse like people in other parts of the world, in *propria persona*.

Even in these wonderful and teeming times, of uniform change and inveterate novelty, so mighty a revolution can hardly be hoped for. An Englishman would be as soon persuaded to give up his *Habeas Corpus*, as an East-Indian his *Burrah Chokey*; the *Magna Charta* of the one, is not so much read as the *chits* of the other; and people of business here are of so much more weight than at home, that it would be as difficult to move a merchant of Madras to the Exchange, as to keep a London broker from it.

One of my correspondents some time ago very ingeniously discussed this disposition to letters; though, perhaps, with too much severity. Whether in the petty, but con-

stant and universal manufacture of *Chits*, which prevails here, it deserves his appellation of *cacoëthes scribendi*, must be left to the judgment of the learned. But, be it worthy of praise or blame, the fact is certainly notorious, that in no part of the world is to be seen in more practice or perfection, the Art of Scribbling.—And, as another of my auxiliary friends remarked, in his late favour, that manners and language keep page with each other, it is observable that in this favourite instance an appropriate phrase has been very expressively applied. The small scale on which this literary intercourse is carried on, naturally suggests a pretty little infantine idea. The term *Chit*, therefore, which is well known to mean nothing more or less than a little child, is very properly adopted to signify this baby correspondence. So in the poetical authority for this word, adduced by Dr. JOHNSON as descriptive of certain little politicians,

“ These will appear such *Chits* in story,
 “ ’Twill turn all politicks to jest.”

Political

Political *Chits*, however, at least of any polemick or controversial cast, are happily not very common in this country.—Discussions of that heating nature are better calculated for cooler climates.

The superiority of talent of the gentler sex, in all the pleasurable and elegant intercourses of life, is universally acknowledged; and not in any instances more, than in the facility of taste with which they communicate their ideas both in conversation and correspondence.—This double power is happily expressed in the compound epithet, descriptive of the two arts in which they excel;—*chit-chat*: evidently importing the ready faculty both of pen and tongue: powers very honourably recognised and expressly recorded by no less authority than the Spectator himself; who, my fair readers will remember, makes very handsome mention of a female society, who were distinguished by the name of the *chit-chat-club*.

I have heard it remarked that, whatever may be the causes, the climate of India has not been found congenial to the institution of clubs. But if such a one as has been just

mentioned, were set on foot, the advantages resulting therefrom would no doubt be powerful incentives to its support.

When it is remembered that business and pleasure turn equally on the common medium of *Chits*, and that skill and readiness in writing them, ought therefore, according to HORACE, to gain every suffrage, as uniting the *utile dulci*, the writing branch of the institution will certainly recommend itself.

And as to the other, still more constantly in demand, though perhaps not of such important use, the power of small-talk, its conveniency in general, but particularly in publick places, in the performance either of a long concerto or sermon, is too obvious to be insisted on.

On the subject of the constant little literary communication that flourishes here, it is observable that the modifications of style and address, as requisite to different persons and subjects, are by no means sufficiently ascertained; especially in the conclusion; which will be allowed to be the most desirable part of most performances. The scale of incipient address, for instance, though
varying

varying considerably in its degrees from the distant Sir to My dearest Friend!—yet admits not half so many colours and distinctions as the termination of a *Chit*. From your humble servant, proceeding with great respect, obediently, sincerely, truly, &c. with all the variations of very and most,—about thirty-seven variations may be counted before we come to thine with everlasting attachment! Is it not absolutely necessary, to the carrying on both publick and private affairs with correctness, that these delicate distinctions should be understood? My female students, it is hoped, will be particularly careful, even of a Dear Sir, when they know, that a promise of marriage was extracted by some old-fashioned casuists out of a very innocent flourish that only intended love and affection.

As to superscriptions, little difficulty remains; the general rule now being to write the word Esquire after every name whatsoever that is not military or ecclesiastick. This is an admirable expedient to prevent both trouble and offence, by equalizing all professions and stations; and is an high improvement

provement on the levelling system of equality introduced elsewhere, which appeared to partake a little of envy, in endeavouring to pull down dignities and orders: but this, in the nobler spirit of emulation, aspires, with manly arrogance to itself, and without derogation from others.

To return to the prevalence and use of the *Chit*, and consequently the desirableness of a *Chit Society*, with proper professors to promote its practice and science, especially among young gentlemen and ladies newly arrived from Europe, I have only to add my hopes of being favoured with a few *chits* on the subject, with additional hints and proposals.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER XVII.—MARCH 25, 1794.

Our scene precariously subsists too long,
On French translation and Italian song;
Dare to have sense yourselves; assert the stage,
Be justly warm'd with your own native rage:
Such plays alone should please a British ear,
As CATO's self had not disdain'd to hear.

POPE.

IF such were the patriotick remonstrance of the poet at the beginning of the century, the same sentiments would have been expressed by him at least with equal zeal in later times. For it is certain, that French fashions and French taste established, principally under the magnificent auspices of LOUIS XIV. a very general sway in Europe; which was long arrogated, especially in matters of literature, with a high spirit of critical monopoly.

Men are too apt to give credit to proud pretensions; to suppose that where much is assumed, something is deserved; and indolently to pay the debt that insolence exacts,
rather

rather than take the trouble of examining the account.

Thus the French criticks remained in almost undisturbed possession of the dictatorial chair, even after the decline of the splendour of their country; which in the earlier conquests and glory of Louis, had given a plausible pre-eminence to their literature as well as their arms.

The munificence of the court had also contributed not a little to dignify the claims of the *Beaux Esprits* of France. They were gratified with ample reward, and honoured with high distinction. Embodied in societies and academies, they were protected by royal favour, and commanded national respect; and mutually supported by the *esprit de corps*, which prevails as strongly in literary association as any other, they were enabled long to maintain their sovereignty, especially in the branches of humane and polite learning. In the more abstruse researches, indeed, of philosophy, moral and natural, as the original genius of BACON pointed out the path, so the persevering powers

powers of LOCKE, and GROTIUS, and NEWTON, pursued their successful way.

But though England and her allies could thus boast of victorious commanders in the great warfare of literature, as they did in effect in the military field, against the encroaching ambition of their neighbour; yet could they not stem or rival the progress of their language and style of composition, the correctness of their poetry and antithesis of their prose, their coolness of criticism and regularity of taste; inculcated as all these have been and exemplified, from the RAPINS and the PERRAULTS, to their great and admired partisan VOLTAIRE.

It were an undertaking too diffuse for my limits, to enter on a particular consideration of the subjects to which I have alluded. But I cannot omit one remark as to that species of poetry which is generally admitted to be of the highest order, the Epick, as demonstrative in the instance of the great name I have quoted, of the frigid rules and partial taste which his elegant country was too willing to adopt, relative to that noble subject. It is a certain fact, that VOL-

TAIRE'S

TAIRE'S *Henriade* was generally esteemed in France as the best of all Epick Poems! His own opinion is very easily collected, from his disquisition into the demerits of all others, particularly the *Paradise Lost* of MILTON.

There are, however, who think that the Dramatick Muse ought to have precedence among the Nine, and particularly that the Tragick is entitled to the first place. Still more immediately personifying the actions and passions of men through the boundless regions of Nature, whence to select variety, the Drama admits, and perhaps requires higher flights of fancy, than the works of the Historick or Epick Muse. Here, therefore, peculiarly interferes the regulation of unfeeling art, and timid taste. The Critick of Ferney, unable to soar with the "ample pinion" of the Avon-eagle, censures his noble daring as wild and eccentric, — and while SHAKESPEARE is gazed at by

"Existence as he scorns her bounded reign,

"And panting Time toils after him in vain," —

we are very coolly told that he has violated all the *unities*.

The

The same spirit of insipid correctness crept very generally some years ago into the criticism and composition of comedies. The other extreme of licentious abuse, which had taken its rise from, and was too congenial to, the court of CHARLES II. certainly required correction. But it was unfortunate that the corrective which was applied, by the act for licensing the stage, or the fashion of French translation that followed, suppressed the true comick spirit with the false and improper, and left nothing but sentimental dregs behind. Then ensued the reign of dulness, affecting the distinction of elegance, and sensibility shining in studied sentences: and the yawning audiences, undisturbed by mirth or vulgar humour, were gently lulled with dialogue without wit, plot without interest, and sentiment without virtue.

A brighter æra dawned on the British theatre, when the admirable author of the School for Scandal (even to the remotest parts it is hardly necessary to particularize the name of SHERIDAN) demonstrated how consistent with decorum may be the most exquisite

exquisite humour, and that the finest wit may best promote the moral purpose of the stage.

It has been a peculiarly pleasing exercise of *Indian observation*, to see a subject of such excellent use and entertainment, as the theatrical is allowed to be, cultivated with such happy success, in this scene. The above thoughts have been thrown together, for the purpose of promoting its best cultivation; and to point to those parterres of the garden, where it may yield the richest fruit. It cannot ripen on the sickly scyon of French translation, or the barren stock of Italian song. The inferiority of the latter must have been obvious to all, who heard the late contradistinguished excellence of the manly and natural strains of HANDEL. And of the inferior comedy, whether it be direct plagiarism from other languages, or the late invented snip-snap reply and pantomime dialogue, usurping the place of natural incident and moral entertainment,—whether it be English farce, or foreign *entre-met*,—surely no reader or spectator, acquainted with SHAKESPEARE, and some
of

of his successors on the scene, will hesitate to pronounce a preference.

A late tragick instance, in real life, which he so exactly pourtrayed, may not be an unworthy tribute of record to the immortal Father of the Drama.

After a desperate action between a smuggling-vessel and a King's cutter, the captain of the former boarded his enemy. The commander of the cutter was in the power of the conqueror, who, in the act of striking, withheld his hand—"I cannot kill him, he is so like my father!"—My reader will instantly remember Lady Macbeth and Duncan, 'Had he not resembled my father as he slept, I had done it!'—Every sensible heart will form the comment.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER XVIII.—APRIL 1, 1794.

Laudumque immensa cupido.

VIRGIL.

—And boundless thirst of fame.

OUR great moral poet tells us, in some of his didactick satires, or epistles, I forget which, that hope is the most comfortable and constant companion of our life;—that it sticks to our last stand, consoles even dissolution itself,—nor “quits us when we die.”

I hope that none of my readers will be indisposed to the opinion of the poetical moralist, so supporting as it is to the mind in “the various turns of fate below;” and I trust, therefore, it may not be unpleasing to them, if I endeavour to enter on the subject with some particularity, as to the objects of that ruling passion in the minds of our countrymen, in this country.

Power, wealth, and fame (in its best sense) are, in all parts of the world, the great objects of human pursuit. Exceptions, it is true, may be adduced, of conduct,

duct, independent of all these allowed attractions, disinterested even as to fame, and turning solely on its own axis, of pure benevolence and liberality. But the rarity of such exception is the strongest demonstration of the general rule.

It is not, however, by any means intended to depreciate the aspiring views of ambition, the industrious attentions of commerce, or the honourable pursuit of glory. The respective principles that prompt to each, on the supposition always that they act through just and proper means, are admirably conducive to publick prosperity, and consequently to private happiness.

As to the first, although it must be allowed, that desire of power or publick sway cannot, and ought not to have much immediate operation as to individual ambition, in settlements far distant from the sources of authority in the state, and which are in their nature commercial and military, rather than colonial; yet, are not to be excluded the fair prospects and hopes of stations the most honourable, to be deserved through gradations of either service, and ultimately attained by

by merit; as in some instances has been happily exemplified, and it is to be hoped, will be in many more.

It will not be necessary to expatiate on the next branch of the question, the successful pursuit of fair emolument in this country, from the commercial and political service of the state. It is a fortunate concurrence, indeed, where, as in the flourishing establishment of our commerce and power in this country, the advantage of individuals is so amply supported by, and promoted in proportion to, the prosperity of the publick. And it is a peculiarly pleasing subject of observation, that not only those who are in the immediate service of these establishments, partake so amply their prosperity; but that they who pursue their own commercial projects under the publick protection, are both able and willing to give effectual aid to the publick cause: as appears in the late equipments of private vessels, and the liberal subscriptions for that purpose. This is the true commercial circulation of protection received, and assistance repaid. The rich streams that have flowed through the arteries
of

of protected trade, return through the grateful veins, to support the source from whence they issued.

Thus it has been pleasing to contemplate the influence of honourable and public spirited motives, in those pursuits where they are not generally expected to be found; at least, not so much as in others. For it must be acknowledged, that the third subject intended to be considered, the pure and disinterested love of fame, is particularly appropriate to the profession of arms. Every honourable breast, it is true, must be animated by it; but it is obvious, that it belongs more to the military character than any other; that it is more directly the object of the soldier, and that the means of attaining it, according to the usual acceptation, and in the general eye of mankind, are more immediately competent to the dangers and triumphs of war, than any other walk of life.

This will be the more readily admitted, when the qualities requisite to military service, and those naturally arising from it, are recollected to be of the most generous

nature. Contempt of danger, patience of fatigue, sacrifice of every convenience and indulgence, — of any selfish consideration whatsoever, that can interfere with the character of a soldier; — promptitude in obeying command, and temper in exercising it; in captivity, fidelity and fortitude, and towards the captive, clemency; in fine, prudence in the plan, zeal in the action, and moderation in the victory; — these are some of the characteristick qualities of the military profession, of which it is not extraordinary that the companion should be a disinterested passion for glory.

A generous sympathy also with the situations of others, and affectionate attachment in consequence to the fellow-sufferers of hardships and dangers, must be more often the lesson, and more deeply impressed, in the rugged school of military experience, than in other smoother habits of life. But of the various instances of fellow-sufferings among military men, whether in the fatigues of the field, or the cruelties of captivity, it is certain that no country can be more fertile than this. It cannot be doubted, from the

he happy example of those who have survived them, that this country can also boast in proportion, the virtues consequent on trials so severe:

- “ Sublimest virtue, and *desire of fame*,
 “ Where justice gives the laurel :—
 “ The inextinguishable spark which fires
 “ The souls of patriots!—
 “ Undaunted valour, and contempt of death.”

The *Indian Observer*, must have forfeited his title, if he had not paid attention to the subject of an anniversary observance which occurred on the 23d of the month:—the liberation of our countrymen from the prisons of the Myfore monarch, in the year 1784. Consideration of their military suffering led principally to the few foregoing thoughts on the military condition and character. And a contemplation of their happy release having suggested the following lines, thrown together, as I understand, rather on the spur of the occasion, than with any critical care, I shall take the liberty of concluding this paper with them, as applicable to the latter part of my subject.

* IN life's career, what various scenes
The mingled prospect form?
Sorrows surround;—joy intervenes;
Sunshine succeeds the storm.

Dejected now, the merchant sees
His richest hope o'erthrown:—
Another venture!—Wealth and ease
His warmest wishes crown.

Behold yon hapless lover lie—
Hear him his torments breathe:
Now see his triumph's ecstasy,
Bless'd with love's happiest wreath.

Hark! was not that the Patriot's groan
Amidst the *Rights of Men*!
Despair not Virtue! Justice soon
Shall vindicate her reign.

Then civil strife, if ought more fell
Can wring the generous mind,
Speak noble hearts:—'tis yours to tell
In barbarous chains confined.

The dying hero, proud of death
In honourable war,
Embraces fate: and his last breath
Triumphs in every scar.

But say, ye, Whose barbarian doom
Imposed the Tyrant's chain,—
In dungeon funk,—a living tomb,—
In almost hopeless pain!

Say, could he hope that equal fate
 Had blessings yet in store?
 That joys should follow, sure, though late,
 And fortune frown no more?

—That glory's sun again should rise,
 Through fate, severely kind:
 As gold the fiercest fire defies,
 Approved, enhanced, refined.

Yes, noble friends! in life's career
 You've reach'd the honour'd goal;
 And social happiness is here,
 And friendship's flow of soul.

And here no changes intervene,
 No varied prospect's found;
 Life's drama boasts this constant scene,
Friendship with honour crown'd.

The Tyrant's iron was a fleeting pain:—
 Constant the joys of sweet affection's chain.

P.

NUMBER XIX.—APRIL 8, 1794.

Judge we by Nature? Habit can efface,
 Int'rest o'ercome, or policy take place:—
 By Actions?—Those, uncertainty divides;
 By Passions?—These, dissimulation hides;
 Opinions?—They still take a wider range;
 Find, if you can, in what you cannot change.
*Manners with fortunes; Humours turn with climes,
 Tenets with books, and Principles with times.*

POPE.

TO repress, as it might seem, the pride of human research, and to repel the vain pretensions of human genius, the wisest of men has pronounced, that there is nothing new under the sun.

The great satirist, at the head of my paper, gives a reasoned opinion, which must appear still more derogatory to the dignity and value of the pursuits of the human mind,—that there is no constancy or uniformity to be found in the human character.

On the first position it may not be requisite here to make further remarks, than what may vindicate it from any apparent consequence as discouraging to learning. Properly

perly considered, it ought rather to operate as an incentive to investigation; and to a laudable emulation, at least, in the recovery of long lost arts, or the exercise of those transmitted from ancient store. And though, in the remote and abstract sense, as intended by the royal philosopher, it may be agreed, that there is nothing actually new in nature; yet industrious research in tracing her secrets, and in the moral world, judicious combinations of ideas and correction of systems may claim the merit, morally speaking, of invention, and confer the crown of genius even on modern talents, exercising new means, at least, for the great object,—the wisdom and happiness of mankind.

But if the poet's censure be just, that the spirit of change pervades the actions, passions and opinions of men, what will avail the most fertile fancy, towards the improvement of wisdom; or the best original disposition, to the attainment of moral happiness?

It has been remarked, that the acknowledged superiority of the ancients in the higher walks of literature,—a superiority
never

never brought into serious question I believe since the decided defeat of the modern Don Quixotes, BENTLEY and WOTTON, by TEMPLE, BERKELEY, and SWIFT,—might be principally attributed to the scrupulous and sedulous care with which those great ancient masters limited themselves to the pursuit of their respective lines of study and learning.

This care included not only a persevering attention to finish their works with the highest polish, on the critical revival after a patient interval of nine years *,—but an exclusive attachment each to the object of his pursuit. They knew that no man could serve two Muses, but that by a divided attempt to propitiate both mistresses, he would deserve neither:—each devoted himself to one; and like the patient knights of romance, gained finally the reward of his constant toils.

* *Nonum prematur in annum.* HOR.—It is a curious anecdote of a modern royal author, that he has extended the term of quiescence to his works, (and they were not few) to thirty years. Till that period shall have elapsed after the death of the late King of Sweden, his works are not to be published or inspected.

Of

Of the great father of Epick poetry, we do not know any other compositions than the Iliad and Odyfsey; except a little *jeu d'esprit* of the battle of the frogs and mice: which, though rather light perhaps and burlesque, it must be remembered it is still a battle.

The extraordinary and chaste sollicitude is well known, with which his Epick successor (*sequiturque patrem*) endeavoured to give perfection to the Æneid; a sollicitude so nice, that he desired, by his last will, the poem should be burned, on account of supposed inaccuracies. Fortunately, the executor was a classical friend, who preferred his taste to his duty. VIRGIL'S works were also few; but excellent in proportion.

The same continuity of pursuit and care of excellence, are seen through the long illustrious line of Greek and Roman philosophers, orators, historians and poets. The former disputed and harangued in the school, each the professor of his peculiar art; and the fair pages of CLIO and her tuneful sisters were pure and unmixed with baser matter. How different the multifari-
ous

ous medley of modern authors! and the motley produce of that wonderful modern engine the Press, groaning at the same time, and perhaps from the same hand, with folios of divinity and duodecimos of scandal. It is almost in vain to hunt after the real character, or the proper talents, of some of our fashionable authors, in a modern bookcase. They elude the pursuit like Proteus, and assume a new form at every turn. A grave philosopher on one shelf, will be found frisking in epigram, or lying in lampoon, on another; and history herself, in all her charms, may be detected in very dangerous assignations with scepticism and metaphysics; and committing her character very suspiciously with some infidel favourites.

When only the weakness incident thus to wanton change and fickleness is insisted on in literary pursuits, it may not be necessary to take occasion of avowing a proportionate respect and admiration for the eminent merits of those who, constant to the cause of truth, intellectual and moral, investigate her recesses with the rays of real taste; and who reflect, even in these days,

back

back to the luminous models of ancient time, the brilliant and steady lights of genius and virtue.

But as the mutability of character intended in my motto, is rather moral than intellectual, relating more to the sentiments, than the operations of the mind, it may be proper to descend from the literary sphere, to mix in the walks, and observe the conduct of men, and then to decide whether "manners turn with fortunes."

On that question, little experience of the world will be requisite to form a general decision. But care ought to be observed, not to pronounce it with absolute censure. It is, at least, perfectly natural to the heart of man, to feel elation in prosperity, and dejection in distress. Those uncommon and rare spirits, who are unmoved and unchanged by either, are heroical exceptions to the general rule, founded on the human character.

On the other hand, it is to be hoped, for the honour of human nature, that excessive instances of upstart pride and callous good fortune, or of abject despair and dejection in adversity,

adversity, ought not to be admitted as characteristick of mankind. That they sometimes occur, many have seen; that their contraries often exist, more have opportunities of shewing: but when they do happen, all perhaps ought to concur, that they should be rather pitied as failings, than condemned as vices; contemptible, more than criminal; arising from the same impotence of mind, and equally unable to bear the frigid blasts of adversity, or the torrid rays of a too prosperous and vertical sun.

This might lead me to the change of "humours with climes;"—if the foregoing reflections had not carried me further than I foresaw. That changeability, however, with the others mentioned, may be resumed in a future paper. Though as to "tenets changing with books" the discussion perhaps may not be exactly in point in this country, where it must be confessed, reading is not an epidemical disease. "Principles with times," it is feared may in some degree be applied to all:—though, by no means in the great extent it is generally received; nor with justice be imputed to many

many great and high characters in political life; against whom this, and common-place railing, are charged by their adversaries, in default of argument and defiance of candour.

P.

NUMBER XX.—APRIL 22, 1794.

Facit indignatio versum. Juv.

IF any apology were requisite for dedicating this *Observer* to the following spirited poem, the highest possible authority might be referred to, in the example of the *Spectator*. The readers of that admirable work will remember the happy introduction of some poetical papers, doing equal honour to the authors, and pleasure to the publick.

When such an inimitable example is referred to, it must be, as the *Observer* took early occasion to premise, and from experience finds ample reason to know, at a most respectful and awful distance. But he hopes
to

to be more excused in such reference, by the merit of the following, than any attempt of his own.—The candid critick will not, however, expect the parched plains of India, or bungaloes in the land-winds, will hardly tempt the Aonian maids, wont to disport,—fanned by the fragrant zephyrs,—on the banks of Tibur and of Thames, in the Virgilian villa, or the Twickenham grotto. But though our poet's verse swell not with Pollio's praises, nor aspires to invoke the nymphs of Solyma, yet it is hoped that the well chosen interests, in this country, of the subjects he treats, and the manly boldness and poetical spirit with which they are discussed, will well repay the attention of Indian readers.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

COMPANY'S SERVANTS:

WRITTEN WHEN THE INDIA BILLS APPEARED IN THE
BEGINNING OF 1785; WITH OCCASIONAL ADDITIONS.

IN orient climes, where griping tyrants reign,
And passive Indians drag the slavish chain:
Where sickly damps, their noxious influence shed,
And burning suns strike Europeans dead:
Where senates (tho' 'tis fellow-subjects feel,)
Erect the inquisition and the wheel;
Shall one of Freedom's sons presume t' engage,
Despotick power, and vindictive rage;
Opposing justice to the mighty throng,
Who from design, or ignorance, are wrong?
Yes, Truth inspires and animates his song.

Outcasts of every country, hither roam,
And 'stead of halters, villains find a home.
Some Britons too, regardless of their trust,
Become rapacious, cruel, and unjust,
Accurs'd be all the vile, degen'rate race,
The slaves of avarice, and the tools of place:
The cringing herd, the proud oppressive throng,
Doers themselves, or advocates of wrong;
Yet let not censure undistinguish'd fall,
Illiberal censure,—that includes us all;

Avarice

Av'rice in power, to oppression drives,
 Premiers in England, and in India, Clives :
 And who deserve most from their country—they,
 Who fav'd an empire, or threw one away ?
 Perish the wretch! who'd plead a villain's cause,
 Approve injustice or pervert the laws:
 But indiscriminate vengeance why pursue ?
 Degrading thousands, for a scoundrel few.

Say, ye, who know mankind, what happy place,
 Is blest supremely, in a blameless race—
 Say, are to Europe's shores alone confin'd,
 Goodness of heart and rectitude of mind ?
 Must virtue, honour, taste, and feeling die,
 Transplanted hither from a northern sky ?
 At what degree, receding from the line,
 Must worth and knowledge first begin to shine ?
 Here vice and ignorance, triumphant rule,
 And every man's a scoundrel or a fool.
 So cries the vulgar prejudice, which blinds,
 Contracts and hardens all ignoble minds.

Hail SWARTZ ! dispenser of unerring truth, O
 Pattern of age, and monitor of youth,
 Pure in your heart, the pious ardours glow,
 Pure from your lips the sacred precepts flow;
 Pure in your life, their energy appears,
 Soften'd, improv'd, and dignified by years.
 That martial ardour in these climes can dwell,
 Let COOTE, SMITH, LAWRENCE, and their armies tell.
 That generous feelings are not dead or weak,
 Let the glad orphan, and the widow speak.

What

What friend to man, who hears th' affecting theme,
 But glows at CAMPBELL's and KIRKPATRICK's name?
 Exalted souls, accept a stranger's praise,
 Who would not sink, but dignify his lays,
 Let vice to vice the venal meed impart,
 Be yours what flows spontaneous from the heart;
 Be yours the thanks, the hapless orphan owes,
 For unhop'd comfort, and for lessen'd woes.
 Be yours such thanks, as must reproach the vile,
 The Virgin's blushes, and the Infant's smile.

Here knowledge by benevolence refin'd,
 Forms mighty plans, to benefit mankind,
 From distant lands, their useful stores to bring,
 In barren wilds, to make rich harvests spring,
 With mighty banks, the river's course restrain,
 And pour new treasures o'er the thirsty plain,
 Sources of wealth unfold, unknown before,
 To guard from want the hovel of the poor,
 And while such varied worth our *World* displays,
 Be mine the honours to record and praise.

That suffering virtue here aspires to fame,
 Let TIPP00's captives, to the world proclaim.
 Shock'd at the thought with pity and disdain,
 Joy beats for entrance at my heart in vain.
 I hear sad groans, from deep, dark dungeons rise,
 (The moans of *Freedom* 'neath *Oppression*'s skies!)
 Where sunk in horrors, and convuls'd with pains,
 Indignant Britons shake their galling chains.

If these sad scenes, the gen'rous soul impress
 With sympathetick feeling, for distress,

Let mildness and humanity assuage,
The giddy transports of intemp'rate rage;
And when the menial hireling meekly stands,
With trembling frame, and supplicating hands;
Repress blind *wrath*, let gentle mercy move,
And when you punish, punish to improve:—
Ye powers of soft benignity! what can
Make man exert the tyrant over man?
'Tis cowardice!—the virtuous, and the brave,
Disdain to strike an unresisting slave.
But few such crimes—Yes, spite of party rage,
Truth shall be told, and in an Indian page.
Statesmen may err, but candour must maintain,
We hold the Natives with too loose a rein:
Train'd to submission, arrogance with fears,
And indolence, with avarice appears:
Subtle they crouch, beneath superior pow'r,
But unrestrain'd, insult, betray, devour.
Feeble with pride, with superstition, knaves,
They will be tyrants, or they must be slaves.
Far as tradition can their conduct trace,
The same characteristic marks the race.
Change first, the fervour of this burning clime,
Then banish errors, sanctified by time.
Reverse the order of the rolling year,
Then hope, that Liberty will flourish here:—
Our laws, religion, customs, they detest,
Convinc'd their own are wisest, purest, best:
Indians will not enjoy, perversely blind,
The God-like freedom of an English mind:
Give them, of liberty, the amplest share
Their present habits can with safety bear,

Think

Think not at once, to change, by hopes, or fears,
 The abject slav'ry of unnumber'd years.
 In slow progression, human wisdom draws,
 Mildness with force, and liberty with laws:
 When full, the social energies expand,
 Burst as in Britain forth, in freedom grand.
 Our complicated forms to introduce,
 Would be unjust and cruel, without use.
 Shock not the prejudice you can't remove,
 O'erturn not ancient systems, but improve.
 Our legal subtleties restricted sway,
 Would only teach them, how to disobey;
 Unlike a native despot's iron hand,
 Remorseless, crushing all a prostrate land.
 Yet all, who know this country, must agree
 That we grow slaves, while slaves are growing free;
 Denied a right that should to all extend,
 The sacred intercourse 'tween friend and friend,
 Expos'd, and in strict statute fetters bound,
 The legal prey of every harpy round—
 Beware, Britannia! lest misjudging law
 Destroys that power it only meant to awe.
 Beware, lest warm'd by real or fancied woes,
 You blind your friends, and liberate your foes.
 Britons, to freedom's glorious blessings born,
 Should view the enslavers of mankind with scorn;
 With love fraternal, brother Britons own,
 Alike, in England and the torrid zone;
 O'er injur'd worth, should spread a seven-fold shield,
 And draw the sword which Justice bids them wield.

Exiles from those best blessings, Heaven can send,
The tender parent, and the early friend,
Entwin'd with every fibre of the heart—
Say ye who 've felt, how dreadful 'twas to part?
What more afflictions are we doom'd to bear?
Distress, disease, captivity severe.
What our rewards? when sickness shakes the frame,
And life's last ember casts a doubtful gleam.
Can we, before the vital spirit flies,
Seek renovation, under native skies?
Those who have wealth may go—all must resign,
And empty coffers suit not health's decline.
Sad choice! to starve, or hopeless pains endure,
Rejuvenescence is not for the poor.
What more rewards?—Should one become a pest,
The publick odium fastens on the rest.
By partial laws insulted and confin'd,
By vileness call'd the vilest of mankind,
Defeated Generals, Admirals who fled,
(While envy scowls from each unlaurell'd head)
The ins and outs whose mad contending rage,
The state dismember'd, and convuls'd the age,
Contractors, sharpers, pickpockets, and Jews,
The dregs of senates, pillories, and stews,
All join, with friendly ardour to declaim,
And our delinquency, th' exhaustless theme:
A league like this would raise to spirit brave
The torpid meanness of an Asian slave,
And shall not we, t'assert our birthright dare?
Not tell the wrongs, th' indignities we bear?
Heavens! are we lost to glory and to shame,
Or bear we aught of Britons but the name?

Yes,

Yes, here, even here, great liberty inspires,
The social virtues, and the patriot fires.
Nor need Britannia blush her sons to own,
Their minds elate to honour's walks are prone.
Like our great ancestors then let us stand,
Against the proud oppressors of the land.
Like them the voice of freedom boldly raise,
With Roman firmness spurn tyrannick ways,
Bid Kings and Senates the right road discern,
Just to the just, and to the lawless stern,
Gentle, yet steadfast ; loyal, yet unaw'd ;
And future ages shall our deeds applaud.

Whether we shiver underneath the pole,
Or o'er our heads the world's enlightner roll ;
Whether enjoying pleasure, rank, and wealth,
Or lost to joy, to competence, and health ;
Superior rising to the vulgar springs,
And changing scenes of sublunary things ;
With minds untainted with the lust of gold,
Honour unfulled, honesty unfold,
Prepar'd alike for happiness or ill,
Let us remember—we are Britons still.

NUMBER XXI.—APRIL 29, 1794.

Trahit sua quemque voluptas.

Various our tastes, and each pursues his own.

Seldom favoured with friendly communications, I am the more obliged by the following; which, without further preface, I have the pleasure of laying before my readers.

TO THE INDIAN OBSERVER.

SIR,

IT was not without much pleasure that I saw in some of your former lucubrations, disquisitions into the merits of the several arts that adorn and improve society; with well-timed observations, calculated to incite the publick attention to their promotion and encouragement.

Though neither artist nor connoisseur, author nor critick, I profess myself an *amateur* of every thing agreeable. Approving, therefore, as far as my limited talent will admit, of the ingenious researches with which
you

you have favoured the publick, into the comparative powers of poetry and oratory, painting and musick, give me leave to express my surprize that the latter, which has been generally supposed to be the most attractive of any, appears not to be popular or fashionable at present. I know, Sir, according to the proverb, that it is in vain to argue on taste: or to demonstrate to the mind that it must be pleased. Persuasion against the feelings has no more effect, than conviction against the will; which, according to a very high, though facetious authority, produces only a continuance in the same opinion. But the understanding may be called in aid with some success, especially if seconded with a little honest pride, to dissuade from frivolous levities, and adopt habits, at least—which may grow into inclinations,—for elegant amusements and rational pleasure.

Hamlet strongly urges his mother “to assume a virtue, if she has it not.” It is rather extraordinary, that those to whom Stepdame Nature has denied refinement of intellect or sensibility of soul, should not
desire

desire to dissemble their effects; and by assuming proper appearances, endeavour to catch something of the reality. This would be at least an innocent, and might be an useful affection.

Even in subjects more serious, hypocrisy has been considered as a compliment to virtue; and is a proof of some remnant of sense in the professor, by his attempt to conform, in appearance, to the right understanding of mankind. But not to be too serious on the subject on which I address you—which, no doubt, your penetration has discovered to be neither more nor less than the private attendance of our publick concerts,—can you account, Sir, with all your acute observing, for this extraordinary fact; or rather, this negative of fact and taste? No hearers of HANDEL's chosen strains; no enraptured admirers of the nicely touched key, the swelling string, or the still more melodious harmony of the various voice.

As I am little better than an unfledged Griffin, according to the fashionable phrase here, and newly arrived from a distant residence,—

dence,—the empty benches of the concert-room naturally suggested an idea to me, that some high attractive entertainments, of very superior order, reigned throughout the accomplished society. Learned Lycœums presented themselves to my imagination; or, still more attractive, because heightened with female taste and beauty, the elegant *Conversazione, des Bals parés, and Fêtes al fresco*.—Alas!—none of these.—*Tredrille* triumphed, alone,—in preference: unless rivalled a little by the younger favourite *Vingt-un*: whose name, modestly enough, denotes the limit of attention due to him; and that it is all thrown away, if continued beyond the years of discretion.

The following just picture, from the master-hand of ARMSTRONG, will better elucidate, than I can pretend to do, the merits of this admirable art. Whoever reads it with “musick in his soul,” will require no other comment:—and whoever sees it without that congenial light, stands already sentenced and excommunicated by the chief judge of the human heart.

MELOPHILOS.

THERE

THERE is a charm, a pow'r that sways the breast;
Bids every passion revel or be still;
Inspires with rage, or all your cares dissolves;
Can soothe distraction, and almost despair.
That pow'r is musick: far beyond the stretch
Of those unmeaning warblers on our stage;
Those clumsy heroes, those fat-headed gods,
Who move no passion justly but contempt:
Who, like our dancers (light indeed and strong!)
Do wondrous feats, but never heard of grace.
The fault is ours: we bear those monstrous arts:
Good Heaven! we praise them: we with loudest peals
Applaud the fool that highest lifts his heels,
And with insipid shew of rapture, die,
Of idiot notes impertinently long.
But he the Muse's laurel justly shares,
A poet he, and touch'd with Heaven's own fire,
Who with bold rage, or solemn pomp of sounds,
Inflames, exalts, and ravishes the soul;
Now tender, plaintive, sweet almost to pain,
In love dissolves you; now in sprightly strains
Breathes a gay rapture thro' your thrilling breast,
Or melts the heart with airs divinely sad,
Or wakes to horror the tremendous strings.
Such was the bard whose heavenly strains of old
Appeas'd the fiend of melancholy Saul.
Such was, if old and heathen fame say true,
The man who bade the Theban domes ascend,
And tam'd the savage nations with his song;
And such the Thracian, whose harmonious lyre,
Tun'd to soft woe made all the mountains weep;
Sooth'd ev'n th' inexorable pow'rs of Hell,

And

And half redeem'd his lost EURYDICE.
Musick exalts each joy, allays each grief,
Expels diseases, softens ev'ry pain,
Subdues the rage of poison, and the plague;
And hence the wise of ancient days ador'd
One pow'r of physic, melody and song.

P.

NUMBER XXII.—MAY 20, 1794.

Vix ea nostra voco.

Rare is the rightful claim to genuine praise.

AMONG the pretenders, who in various ways attempt to impose on the credulity of their fellow creatures, it is not to be wondered that literary impostors should be found. In contemplating the charms of literary fame, and taking into the account the proverbial vanity of authors, some allowance may fairly be made for a little deception, in the means used to attain the object.

Plagiarism is, perhaps, the most innocent imposture that can be played off against the publick.

publick. If it be detected, it is evident that no evil ensues; on the contrary, it brings forward in a strong contrast, and with the highest constructive compliment, the original beauties which the plagiarist had aspired to appropriate: and even if it should succeed, where is the essential or moral harm?—Not like the hypocrite in religion or the serious duties of life, the literary impostor gratifies an innocent vanity; for, though contemptible enough as to the person, that can hardly be called criminal, which has no injurious consequences either to individuals or society.

I was desirous to clear my way on this subject, and to remove as effectually as I could, the serious imputations that might be conceived to lie against those who indulge a little in literary thefts; before I presume to come to the particular mention of some eminent names, generally considered as examples of original genius, but whom a minute investigation will, perhaps, find in the train of industrious imitators.

When the name of ROUSSEAU is mentioned, the singular character of the philosopher,

sopher, and the more unique conduct of the man, immediately suggests the idea of a proud independent genius; viewing all literary obligation with at least as much disdain, as he affected to reject all other favour or assistance. Yet it will require no very elaborate research and comparison to discover the precisely identical ideas and arguments of MONTAGNE and LOCKE, in the nervous pages of the *contrat social*, and the eloquent philosophy of the *Emile*. It is true, that the thoughts of the gay old essayist, as well as the moral logick of the English philosopher, assume a more lively form, and are adorned in brighter colours, by the style and imagination of ROUSSEAU. But these are secondary praises; and the original merit is in the original production; however successful may have been the subordinate skill of transplantation.

The *Nouvelle Heloise* will naturally occur to the admirers of ROUSSEAU, as a work brilliant with original beauty, and animated with peculiar genius. Such, it must be owned, is the judgment extorted from many, by the rich elegance of style, and the warmth
of

of colouring and imagery, with which this extraordinary work abounds. But the misfortune will be, when we allow that it has some claim to these distinctions, it will be found that they are the worst parts of the work; alike inconsistent with the amiable feelings of nature, and the correct dictates of morality and religion. There may be novelty in imagining, and luxurious imagination in depicting, the co-existence and consistency of sensuality with sentiment; of indelicacy of conduct with refinement of sensibility. But it had been better for the reputation of ROUSSEAU, and perhaps the morals of his readers, if he had indulged his plagiarism a little further; and in addition to the ground work of his character from RICHARDSON'S *Clarissa*, and the admirable letters of the real *Heloise*, had preserved the delicacy of mind and dignity of virtue which peculiarly characterised the latter:—although misrepresented* in such contrary colours by Mr. POPE.

Whoever

* It is a very remarkable fact, contrary to POPE'S scandal, that Eloisa was actually married to Abelard; but

Whoever will take the trouble of comparing ROUSSEAU's writings, especially on education, with the authors above-mentioned, to whom may be particularly added PLATO and SENECA among the ancients, with CROUSAZ, and many learned modern writers, will be equally convinced of, and surprised at, the extraordinary contributions he has levied from their funds of literature; in a process, possessing the true criterion of plagiarism; which is, a distinguishing series of ideas or argument; or, continued peculiarity of style, for sentences together.

Of these criminal sallies of our author, his learned contemporaries and rivals could not be ignorant, though it does not appear, except in a curious book, *Les Plagiats de J. J. R.* that he was often reproached with them. The *proximus ardet* might serve as a check to some of his literary neighbours. Of his famous satirist VOLTAIRE, particularly, it is well recorded in the *bon mot* of

but concealed it, from delicacy (in those times) to his clerical fame and character. Yet the poet makes her "curse all laws, but those which love has made:"—and exclaim against marriage.

"Not Cæsar's Empress would I deign to prove;

"No; make me Mistress to the man I love."

Mrs.

Mrs. MONTAGUE, that his genius and gratitude to SHAKESPEARE, were in the same proportion.—The French critick had said, that the English poet was nothing more than *une grand fumier*.—"C'est un grand fumier donc," said Mrs. M.—"qui a fertilisé un terrain bien ingrat."

I intended to have added a few thoughts, which perhaps would more have surpris'd some of my readers, against the affected originality of STERNE,—a favourite, and suppos'd original. VOLTAIRE, if his testimony may be admitted, has long ago, in the *Mercuré François*, traced him as a copier of RABELAIS and SWIFT:—and in a late ingenious treatise by Dr. FERRIAR, he is more particularly examined, as a faithful follower of BRUSCAMBILLE, MARIVAUX, and *verbatim* in his sermons, of Bishop HALL.—But the Doctor tempers his ingenious research with much candour; and STERNE's admirers will hardly object to his concluding observation.

"Such are the casual notes, with the collection of which I have sometimes diverted a vacant half-hour. They leave STERNE in possession

possession of every praise but that of curious erudition, to which he had no great pretence, and of unparalleled originality, which ignorance only can ascribe to any polished writer. It would be enjoining an impossible task to exact much knowledge on subjects frequently treated, and yet to prohibit the use of thoughts and expressions rendered familiar by study, merely because they had been occupied by former authors. There is a kind of imitation which the ancients encouraged, and which even our Gothick criticism admits, when acknowledged. But justice cannot permit the polygraphick copy to be celebrated at the expence of the original.

P.

NUMBER XXIII.—MAY 27, 1794.

Pleasure is nought but Virtue's gayer name;
 I wrong her still, I rate her worth too low;
 Virtue the root, and Pleasure is the flower,
 And honest EPICURUS' foes were fools.

YOUNG.

THE polite *nonchalance* of my friend and correspondent Honeycomb Junior, will, I hope, forgive my delay of acknowledgment and attention to his letter. Though I confess I am the less pardonable in the neglect, as I have heard his subject much approved, and his mode of recommending it highly admired; particularly by those fair and elegant criticks, whose applause must be, to Mr. Honeycomb, the most flattering tribute.

My readers will recollect the gallant expostulation of my correspondent, on the neglect of the few amusements offered to the publick, and the dearth of some others, which are not only established by fashion in other countries, but peculiarly recommended and justified by the genial clime.

But, however disposed my friend Mr. Honeycomb may be to contribute to the

Con-

Conversazione, or to promote the *Al Fresco*, the *Bal Paré*, the *Comedie*, and the *Concert*,—it is to be feared that *Trédaille* has too firmly established her reign. There are no pleasures of society equal to the solid philosophy of a *Sans-prenere*, no dramatick scene so interesting as the finesse of a hand well played, no musick to be compared with the *Mattadores*, nor any *bon mot* so victorious as a *Vole in preference*;—the Muses, their sister Graces, disappear before the *fix-premiers*:—and SHAKESPEARE'S self yields, silent and neglected, to the superior genius of *Spadille*.

It was not very extraordinary, though considered by our cenforial poets as worthy of their satire, that cards should be the resource of antiquated devotees to pleasure; whose early years had not, by judicious pursuits of more amiable attachments, prepared a better reversion for the decline of life. So POPE, in his nervous line, points out

——“ How vice her votaries rewards,

“ A youth of folly,—an old age of cards!”

H h 2

And

And so it is as little surprising, that the frail female, as frail in charms as in character, but who unfortunately had given all her attention to the former, regardless of the superior permanent attractions that secure esteem,—should continue to wander in the only paths she had trodden, familiar from habit, though despoiled of the temptations which had formerly bloomed there,—that the Ghosts of Beauty,

——“ Still round and round should glide,
“ And haunt the places where their honour died.”

But the wonder is, that the fashion should at all exist; that in the fairest stage of life, beauty and youth,—and in others a little more advanced, taste, spirit, and understanding; should forego the proper objects of their attention and enjoyment, and sacrifice their powers to a dull idol, the only resource of those whose antiquated or confined faculties can worship no other, and whose barren shrine can reward its votaries neither with the pleasures of mind nor sense.

I believe it was SOCRATES, who, in his peculiar method of conveying instruction, by
proposing

proposing questions to those with whom he reasoned, heard the various solutions on the subject stated by him, of the comparative value of any human good. Some thought, as perhaps the general practice would also infer, that riches were the *summum bonum*: some, more stoical, gave the palm to virtue; and others, not very inconsistently with general opinion, declared in favour of health; but none divined the answer reserved by the Sage himself;—TIME; which well employed, can secure and improve all other advantages; but which, lost or mispent, can never be recovered or corrected.

What would the old Philosopher have said,—and let it be recollected that he was an Attick Philosopher,—if he had seen the delights and elegancies of conversation and literature, and the fine arts of Athens, sacrificed to a barbarous annihilation of time in the Gothick spirit of gambling! If he had seen the eloquence of the Forum and the Lyceum, and the still more interesting scenes of SOPHOCLES and the divine melody of his Chorus, deserted for the dice-box! Cards were an invention reserved
for

for the ingenuity of latter times, and unknown in the city sacred to Minerva.

But, not wishing to appear too grave on the subject of pleasure, it is with much pleasure I can congratulate those who admire the most rational, and they are not few, although want of system and co-operation has hitherto prevented their success, and that the most agreeable prospect is presented in the spacious and elegant theatre, rapidly advancing to perfection under the liberal care of the society who have undertaken it.

With them, the public are assured, that the hint of a wish entertained by many, will receive at last due attention: a wish, if it be consistent with their general plan, as it apparently would well be with their extensive command of ground, that a public promenade might be instituted, under such regulations as taste and judgment may dictate; that the pleasures of society may be promoted and the advantages of the climate enjoyed. And, as violent reforms are supposed to be dangerous, two or three Tredrille tables may still be tolerated for

for those who persist in their worship of images.

P.

NUMBER XXIV.—JUNE 10, 1794.

En, nova progenies!

VIRGIL.

Lo! a new race.

TO THE OBSERVER.

SIR,

I HARDLY know any subject more worthy observation, or more interesting to the various curiosity of the public in India, than the arrival of an Europe ship. Observe every countenance and every inquiry: you will find a characteristick anxiety, curiously proportioned, not only to the nature and importance of the subject, but the temperament and taste of the inquirer.

It is not always, for example, even in the great article of publick intelligence, that the
greatest

greatest impatience of curiosity is found in those who might appear from situation to be most interested in publick events. Nay, it often happens in a ratio directly contrary, when we see the most generous solicitude for political actors and actions, displayed by persons, whom we should imagine most distant from their sphere of attraction.

This, however, with due submission to the *esprit de corps* of the Quidnuncs, being a passion rather factitious and acquired than natural to the heart, cannot operate so forcibly or constantly as others founded in natural and congenial principles. Of these most powerful in their operation, and most productive of anxious sensibility in the mind, almost all the objects are expected, in the wondrous floating *microcosm* from the opposite hemisphere.

The sighs and tears of love, separated by half the globe, are wasted in the faithful bosom of the sail, the only solace for the sorrows of separation. After months of silence, and uncertainty of the fate of those nearest and dearest to us, friendship again
converses;

converles ; renews again and again the faithful attachment consecrated by absences and stimulated by the anxiety of a long silent interval.

If the gay flattery of hope, and the fairy fancies of imagination, be as some sylphick minds conceive, superior in nature and sway in the more regulated and ascertained impressions of experienced friendship and love, what must be the animated sensibility of the aspiring youth, on the approach of the Europe streamers?

—“ *Courted by every wind that gives them play!*”—

What scope for fancy ! What room for indulgence of the imagination !—The lilies and roses, the graces and accomplishments of Europe ! Not merely the creatures of imagination, but formed on the charming models which have already attached the admiration of the envying and aspiring batchelor. If the power of the cause may be judged from the effect, powerful indeed must be this eager anticipation of gallantry : testified as it is in the emulous attentions of the Leanders of the beach, scorning alike the Surf and Hellespont, in the offers
of

of service to the unknown Heroes of the voyage.

In another line, very justifiable and natural, though not quite so romantick as the former, intermingling a little prudential curiosity with friendly inquiry, you must have observed a certain strain of attention on the part of resident friends here, to the health and views of old acquaintances who had returned to Europe. The civil service justifies at least some civil inquisitiveness —“ Pray, do you know my friend * * * ? Has he purchased,—and is he settled,—or has he any thoughts of coming out again?”

The commercial spirit of curiosity may be almost too various to describe, and too deep to penetrate. Extending to all the links of trade that compose the great communication between the produce and consumption of the West and the East,—the real omnipotent chain, vainly attempted by the proud tyranny of XERXES, to command the ocean, and pointing to all quarters of the globe, the anxiety of the merchant is in consequence proportioned to the importance

ance of his objects. The price currents, are his state-papers; the rates of exchange, his revolutions; and bills of lading and letters of invoice, are the substantial *billets doux*; that

“Speed the *rich* intercourse from soul to soul,

“And waft a *lack* from Indus to the Pole.”

The mighty genius of commerce will forgive me, if in adverting to that great subject, a corollary observation occurs on its commanding influence, though invested with less influence and importance than on the grand scale. As a specimen of reciprocal desire of knowledge, who has not observed the appropriate reply of the judicious Purser, to the political inquiries of the Quidnuncs? “Is administration as firm as ever? Are not the democrats *hors de combat*?”—“I assure you, Sir, Europe articles, especially good wine, are not to be had for love, money, or respondentia. As to claret, pray, what does the best English sell for now?”

On the convivial subject, the social appetite with which the *bon-vivant* hungers and thirsts for Europe news cannot be forgotten

ten: "What have you this year?" "Blew
and Hibbert, and Brown and Whiteford."
Thus twinkles the rainbow of convivial
curiosity among the others.

"Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res."

P.
And wait a while from India to the Isle."

The mighty genius of commerce will

forget me, and in advancing to that great

NUMBER XXV. — JULY 1, 1794.

incomprehending influence, though involved

Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,

Ducere sollicita jocunda oblivis vita. HORACE.

the grand feast, as a specimen of tech-

Now deep in ancient lore, and now in soft repose,

Sweetly forget the ill, and wait of life the close.

I AM afraid my readers will too readily

agree with me, that selection is sometimes

better than invention. Especially when

the selection is made from the works of

Menu, and from the representative genius

of SIR WILLIAM JONES.

But, however venerable the Institutes of

the Indian sage, and however admirable the

powers of his learned and elegant transla-

tor, I should not obtrude selected matter on

the

the attention of my readers, if its extraordinary rarity did not render it next to original. Only one copy of this curious work has yet arrived in this settlement.

Such is my best explanation of what, I hope, some of my readers at least, will think I favour them with, in presenting to them the following extract.

If I might be allowed to adduce another and humbler explanation for the quotation I continue to offer, it will not escape the attention of *Indian Observers*, that the present busy moment affords not the opportunity that classical duty would wish to embrace. If the ancient *dictum* be true, that *inter arma silent leges*, the present excuse may meet some indulgence—that the voice of the muses dares hardly whisper amid the clangors of war.

That the classical *otium cum dignitate*, the dignified leisure and repose so happily wished for in my motto, may soon succeed to the honours of victory, must be the wish of every classical mind,—of the lovers of the *literæ humaniores*:—in the mean time, they will not fastidiously disdain the ancient but polished

polished exemplar of the *Economicks* of
Menu.

ON ECONOMICKS, AND PRIVATE MORALS,

- 1.—‘ Let a *Brahmen*, having dwelt with a preceptor during the quarter of a man’s life, pass the second quarter of human life in his own house, when he has contracted a legal marriage.
- 2.—‘ He must live, with no injury, or with the least possible injury, to animated beings, by pursuing these means of gaining subsistence, which are strictly prescribed by law, except in times of distress.
- 3.—‘ For the sole purpose of supporting life, let him acquire property by those irreproachable occupations, which are peculiar to his class, and unattended with bodily pain.
- 4.—‘ He may live by *rita* and *amrita*, or if necessary, by *mrita*, or *pram.rita*, or even by *satyanrita*; but never let him subsist by *swavritti*.
- 5.—‘ By *rita*, must be understood lawful gleaning and gathering; by *amrita*, what is given unasked; by *mrita*, what is asked as alms; tillage is called *pram.rita*.
- 6.—‘ Traffick and money lending are *satyanrita*; even by them, when he is deeply distressed, may he support life; but service for hire is named *swavritti*, or *dog living*, and of course he must by all means avoid it.

7.—‘ He

7.—‘ He may either store up grain for three years; or garner up enough for one year; or collect what may last three days, or make no provision for the morrow.

8.—‘ Of the *Brahmens* keeping house, *who follow those four different modes*, a preference is given to the last, in order successively, as to him, who most completely by virtue has vanquished the world.

9.—‘ One of them subsists by all the six means of livelihood; another by three of them; a third, by two only; and a fourth lives barely on continually teaching the *Veda*.

10.—‘ He, who sustains himself by picking up grains and ears, must attach himself to some altar of consecrated fire, but constantly perform those rites only, which end with the dark and bright fortnights and with the solstices.

11.—‘ Let him never, for the sake of a subsistence, have recourse to popular conversation; let him live by the conduct of a priest, neither crooked, nor artful, nor blended with the manners of the mercantile class.

12.—‘ Let him, if he seek happiness, be firm in perfect content, and check all desire of acquiring more than he possesses; for happiness has its root in content, and discontent is the root of misery.

13.—‘ A *Brahmen* keeping house, and supporting himself by any of the legal means before-mentioned; must discharge these following duties, which conduce to fame, length of life, and beatitude.

14.—‘ Let him daily, without sloth, perform his peculiar duty, which the *Veda* prescribes; for he, who performs that duty, as well as he is able, attains the highest path to supreme bliss.

15.—‘ He

15.—' He must not gain wealth by *musick or dancing*, or by any art that pleases the sense; nor by any prohibited art; nor, whether he be rich or poor, *must he receive gifts* indiscriminately.

16.—' Let him not, from a selfish appetite, be strongly addicted to any sensual gratifications; let him, by improving his intellect, studiously preclude an excessive attachment to such pleasures, *even though lawful*.

17.—' All kinds of wealth, that may impede his reading the *Veda*, let him wholly abandon; persisting by all means in the study of scripture; for that will be found his most beneficial attainment.

18.—' Let him pass through this life, bringing his apparel, his discourse, and his frame of mind, to a conformity with his age, his occupations, his property, his divine knowledge, and his family.

19.—' Each day let him examine those holy books, which soon give increase of wisdom; and those, which teach the means of acquiring wealth; those, which are salutary to life; and those *nigamas*, which are explanatory of the *Veda*.

20.—' Since, as far as a man studies completely the system of sacred literature, so far only can he become eminently learned, and so far may his learning shine brightly.

21.—' The sacramental oblations to sages, to the gods, to spirits, to men, and to his ancestors, let him constantly perform to the best of his power.

22.—' Some, who well know the ordinances for those oblations, perform not always externally the five great sacraments, but continually make offerings in their own organs of sensation and intellect.

23.—' Some

23.—‘ Some constantly sacrifice their breath in their speech, when they instruct others, or praise GOD aloud, and their speech in their breath, when in silence; perceiving in their speech and breath thus employed the unperishable fruit of a sacrificial offering.

24.—‘ Other *Brahmens* incessantly perform those sacrifices with scriptural knowledge only; seeing with the eye of divine learning, that scriptural knowledge is the root of every ceremonial observance.

25.—‘ Let a *Brahmen* perpetually make oblations to consecrated fire, at the beginning and end of day and night, and at the close of each fortnight, or at the conjunction and opposition.

26.—‘ At the season, when old grain is usually consumed, let him offer new grain for a plentiful harvest; and at the close of the season, let him perform the rites called *adhvara*; at the solstices let him sacrifice cattle; at the end of the year, let his oblations be made with the justice of the moonplant.

27.—‘ Not having offered grain for the harvest, nor cattle at the time of the solstice, let no *Brahmen*, who keeps hallowed fire, and wishes for long life, taste rice, or flesh.

28.—‘ Since the holy fires, not being honoured with new grain and with a sacrifice of cattle, are greedy for rice and flesh, and seek to devour his vital spirits.

29.—‘ Let him take care, to the utmost of his power, that no guest sojourn in his house unhonoured with a seat, with food, with a bed, with water, with esculent roots, and with fruit.

30.—‘ But, let him not honour with his conversation such as do forbidden acts; such as subsist, like cats, by

* *interested craft*; such, as believe not the scripture; such
 * as oppugn it by sophism; or such as live like rapaci-
 * ous water-birds.

P.

NUMBER XXVI.—AUGUST 12, 1794.

Iago.—'Twas but a dream.

Oth.—Aye; but it denotes a foregone conclusion.

SHAKESPEARE.

I HOPE, Mr. Observer, you will not take it amiss, when I honestly tell you the effect which some learned lucubrations sometimes produce on my faculties. Indeed I flatter myself, that on reference to very high authority, the failing which I am going to confess, viz. a little *somnibund affection* on certain occasions, of the mental powers, will not appear very criminal or extraordinary. For if the divine HOMER himself be admitted sometimes to nod, surely an humble reader may be indulged now and then with a nap. Especially as
 this

this indulgence may be not only a relief to himself, but in effect a compliment to the writer; when instead of senses steeped in forgetfulness, as the poet has it, the slumbering critic is so sensible of his author's beauties as to continue to think of them whether he will or no, and when he can think of no other. Such, Sir, was the powerful impression made upon me by your ingenious introduction, and the venerable transmigration-doctrines of the Indian sage in your last paper.

My waking powers being exhausted by the multifarious contemplation of the posthumous transformations of mankind, subsided into a gentle sleep; but so gradually as to render the transition scarcely perceptible:—"the obedient slumbers seemed to wake," and pursue the subject.

Methought I found myself landed on the eternal shore of the unrepassable river. The vast and various prospect struck my mind with mingled impressions of delight and awe, difficult to describe in the language of mortals. The visual ray, purged from the thick film of mortality, could de-

scry the blissful mansions of the blessed; where, beneath the never fading verdure of the laurel, heroes held mutual converse and enjoyed each other's virtues. Sages there in the enlightened grove enjoyed the object of their long pursuit, truth in her pure and immutable charms, unchecked by distrust and unclouded by scepticism: and there, in the blooming bowers of perfect felicity, the constancy of virtuous love and the piety of parental affection found their immortal reward.

But what was my astonishment and horror, when my delighted contemplation was called off from these scenes of glory and bliss, by the yells of vice and despair, and the mad shouts of brutality and folly, which penetrated through the gloom of the opposite region. It was the chorus of Chaos itself: but worse confounded than the mere darkness of "old night" could make it.—For sin and death were there to swell the dreadful diapason: and, horrible to tell! in the wild roar of beasts were heard the articulations that had belonged to the human shape. There the man of
blood,

blood, a tyger now, with change of form but fameness of nature, growled his eternal horrors, an immortal victim of famine and unsatiated rage. The more generous destroyers of the human race, ambitious conquerors, fired by false fame and little touched with human woe, gave dreadful note of late repentance in the lion's fullen roar, while they stalked through the desolated scene.—Deceit and duplicity attempted now their frauds in vain, in their amphibious forms. Detected and hunted from each element to the other, acknowledged by none and despised by all, they now feel how short is the triumph of hypocrisy; and how certain the punishment.—But more terrible tortures awaited the malignity of envy and the blackness of ingratitude. Was not that the scream of the famished vulture?—snuffing the tainted air for entrails to devour and hearts to lacerate! But his search seems not in vain. He fastens on that wretched victim, yet in human shape; whose guilt and punishment seem to defy the powers of transmigration.—Reason and
instinct

instinct here came to the aid of my wandering fancy to confirm the inference it had drawn: and both agree that there is no brutal form or character base or black enough to personify ingratitude.

Disgust overcame curiosity; and I turned away my eyes from these shocking scenes to others of less guilty nature and some of mere levity, or folly, enemy only to itself. But I could not help hearing some harsh notes, in a general display of voices, which I was sorry to find were those of some pretty magpies, that seemed to be on their rounds of visiting, from tree to tree. "Indeed, my dear mag," said one, as well as I could distinguish from the general clamour,— "I am surprised to hear you praise that saucy pea-hen's tail that we saw to-night. I assure you all her eyes are painted; and to my knowledge, she got that fine deep blue and perhaps her *embonpoint* from the French pheasant in next grove."

It was not unentertaining to see the progressive stages of insignificance, grub, worm, &c. before the accomplished butterfly

fly could flutter in full blow of dress and fashion, innocently warbling his *mia cara*, and *que je vous aime!*

Pigeons, being "more sinned against than sinning," were punished only with the fear of what they had suffered in their foolish flights at faro and hazard: but it was a pleasing justice to see the rooks and harpies, disappointed of their prey, turn their fatal beaks and talons against each other, and find the fullness of their punishment in the exquisite perfection of their villainy.

But among all the parties that presented themselves, none appeared more curious than some groupes here and there, figuring away in exact conformity to the proverb on earth. These were certain stately female figures, who were easily to be recognised as of the class usually called ancient virgins, leading files of apes in strings curiously interlaced round their bodies. The venerable damsels, as may be supposed, studiously directed their eyes—away from their unfortunate prisoners; while the poor male-coquettes and would-be-men that followed, seemed really more deserving of
pity

pity than punishment.—Why these respectable maidens should appear in *propriis personis*, may not be easy to be accounted for: unless it be considered that, from the spirituality of their lives and thoughts, transformation might be unnecessary, and transmigration indelicate.

And now, Mr. Observer, though I must stop for the present, do not hastily conclude that I am yet awake. I shall find however, from your admission or rejection, whether, as our friend in the play says, “the consequence approve my dream.”—If so, “my boat sails freely, both with wind and stream:” and you may perhaps here further of the *prolusiones posthumæ* of,

Your constant reader,

IGNOTIOR.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER XXVII.—AUGUST 26, 1794.

For all the pious duties which we owe
Our parents, friends, our country, and our God,
The seeds of every virtue here below,
From discipline alone, and early culture grow.

WEST.

TO THE INDIAN OBSERVER.

SIR,

I DO not recollect among the various topics that have been brought forward to consideration by you or your correspondents, to have seen one subject adverted to, which nevertheless appears to me worthy of particular notice and the warmest general encouragement. The subject I allude to, is the humane and successful attention in this country, to the education of children, whose parents—if they have any whom the law can call so—may not be able to afford it; or whose colour may perhaps be an objection to what ought to be

be prompted by the *natural* affection of fathers, who could give to them the advantages of an European education.

It will, I am sure Sir, recur to your recollection with pleasure as an Indian Observer, that all the advantages to which the funds of the institutions in this country are competent, are very happily communicated and extended to the children who are taken care of there. Not less, certainly, could be expected from the humane and able care and worthy professional characters of those who superintend them. The ancient and established public school, is, I believe it may safely be said, as scrupulously and as well conducted as any similar institution; and as successfully as its means admit. Whether those means might not be multiplied, in the manner generally adopted in our churches at home, it would not perhaps be politic to discuss in the terms usually employed, considering the present disposition of Sunday mornings. But if instead of a *charity-sermon*, to be preached at St. Mary's church, it were understood, that an address was to be delivered

ed

ed on the sublimest and most pathetic of all possible subjects,—with singing from some of the most ancient masters,—and subscriptions to be received by Mr. Such-a-one, (without any mention of his being church-warden) for the benefit of the young performers, I should suppose Sir, that both the taste and liberality of the public might be amply depended on.

Of the other young seminary lately established here, the Male Asylum, it must be observed with particular pleasure, that the success has been as eminent, as the principle of its establishment was laudable. It has flourished indeed, both in the increased number of pupils, and in what may fairly be called their literary and scientific advancement, to a degree beyond what was perhaps expected, even from the care of its respectable patrons, or the well-known abilities and persevering diligence of the learned and reverend gentleman who has reared it from its infancy.

It was principally with a view to the still further capability of this excellent institution,

tion, that I alluded in the beginning of my paper to the usual advantages of education in Europe, and the usual causes that have prevented their being attained by the little involuntary adventurers in this country; who may have, some of them a complete, others only an half claim, to European origin.

But those advantages are now brought within their reach here; even at present as far as they are requisite to the ordinary walks of business, or perhaps to the higher scale of some useful and active professions.

Throwing these thoughts together, only on the ground of general approbation, and of a wish for every possible encouragement of an institution so advantageous to the public, I do not pretend to enter into a detail of its extensive merits. They are confessed by all who have opportunity of knowing them, who hear with equal pleasure and surprise the little proficient, masters even to precision of writing and reading, pursue their young acquirements of arithmetic

arithmetic and mathematics with a clearness and command, rarely met with in young schools even at home,—and who observe above all the admirable order and cheerful regularity which reign alike in the lessons and pastimes of the little university.

How much further, or in what manner, the advantages of this noble institution may be extended, must be submitted to the able judgments of those who conduct it. But a hope may be suggested by a well-wisher to it, that from the continued support of the publick here, and the powerful patronage and promotion it may expect from our honourable masters at home, higher classes might be added, than its scale could hitherto admit; where the higher branches of the most useful sciences might be attained, and the languages taught, especially the modern ones of Europe, so useful as they are in a commercial country: so that from the broad and popular base of the Madras Asylum, might rise the more various and polished orders of a Madras Academy.

I hope

I hope these few humble hints will be received in right part, and,

I remain, Sir,

YOUR CONSTANT READER.

P.

POSTSCRIPT TO NUMBER XXVII.—

SEPT. 16, 1794.

WHEN the *Indian Observer* entered on his *weekly task*, he hardly hoped that either any vigour of constitution in itself, or even the favourable influence of friendly encouragement and support, could give it the prolonged existence, or the integral character of a *year's* continuance. He will not, however, presume too much on the partiality that has praised, nor for the present, trespass further on the indulgence of criticism, that has permitted the perseverance of his labours. Whether they are to assume a more permanent form in a collective publication, or to extend into an increased

increased size and number by venturing again into weekly appearance, will depend, in the first instance, on the judgment of others; and in the next, on the continued support of those to whose assistance he already owes so much obligation. If the *Observer* can aspire to the honours of the *perennial* class, they will be the fruits of the essential strength of the contributions of his friends:—his own humble effort, however, aided by a friendly soil and favourable aspect, could not pretend to more than the temporary bloom of an *annual* in the literary garden.

September 16, 1794.

THE END.

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